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Vol. XI.

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THE  
LIFE OF BISHOP JEWEL.

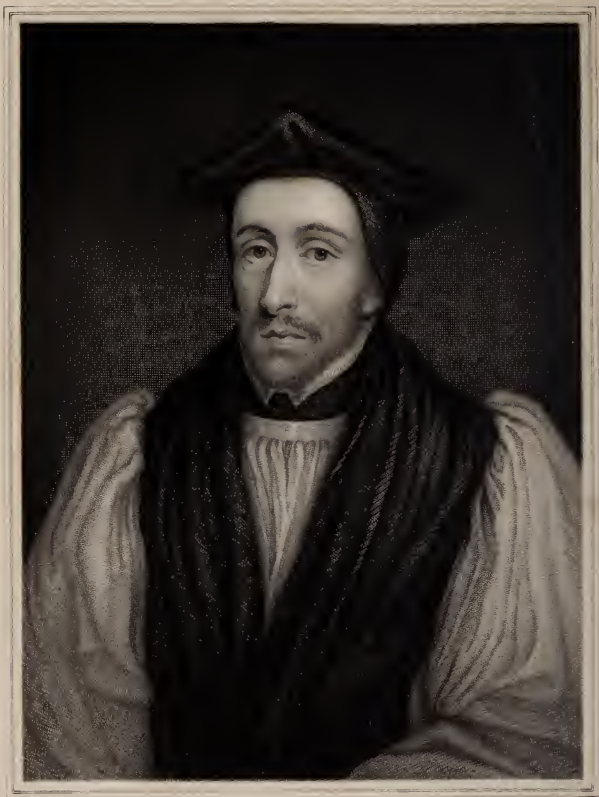
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PROFESSOR IN THE EAST INDIA COLLEGE, HERTS, AND LATE  
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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T A Dean, sculp<sup>t</sup>

JOHN JEWELL, D.D.

BISHOP OF SALISBURY

THE  
LIFE  
OF  
BISHOP JEWEL.

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BY  
CHARLES WEBB LE BAS, M.A.

PROFESSOR IN THE EAST INDIA COLLEGE, HERTS, AND LATE  
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## PREFACE.

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WITHOUT claiming any other merit than that of care and industry, the author of the following pages may humbly venture to affirm, that they exhibit the only attempt which has yet been made, to lay before the public a complete Life of Bishop Jewel. The biographers who have preceded him, are, Humphrey, the contemporary and friend of Jewel ; Daniel Featly, whose Memoir is prefixed to the Edition of Jewel's Works, published in 1609 ; and, lastly, the anonymous " person of quality," whose Life of Jewel was originally prefixed to a Translation of the Bishop's Letter to Signor Scipio, and is now printed in the fourth volume of Dr. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography. The work of Humphrey is a rambling, disorderly, and imperfect narrative, though written in a cordial and zealous temper. That of Featly is but a meagre abridgment. And the last of these performances, though the most useful of the three, has

left something considerable to be done, in the way of collection from other sources.

At the end of the Life, will be found as copious an account of Jewel's voluminous controversy with Harding, as appeared to be compatible with the design and limits of this publication. It is hoped that the Notice of that most memorable conflict may not be wholly uninteresting or unprofitable. Jewel is principally known and honoured, at the present day, as the author of the immortal Apology for the Church of England. But full justice cannot be done to his memory, without some knowledge of the extent and value of his other gigantic labours.

East India College,

Feb. 25, 1835.

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# L I F E

OF

## BISHOP JEWEL.

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### CHAPTER I.

1522—1552.

*Parentage and Birth of Jewel—Admitted at Merton College, Oxford—Imbibes the principles of the Reformation—Removes to Corpus Christi College, Oxford—Made Bachelor of Arts—His studies and occupations—His exemplary life—His reputation as a Lecturer and Tutor—Commences Master of Arts—Contracts a close intimacy with Peter Martyr—Made Bachelor of Divinity—Accepts the Living of Sunningwell—Temporary government of his College committed to him.*

JOHN JEWEL was born the 22d of May, Parentage and Birth of Jewel. in the year 1522, at Buden, in the parish of Berinber, in Devonshire. His father was a gentleman of an ancient and reputable, though not remarkably opulent family. The maiden name of his mother was Bellamy: and it is a pleasing testimony to her maternal excellence and affection, that her son always wore this name engraved on his own

private seal. His parents lived to an advanced age, having passed fifty years together in a state of conjugal harmony and comfort, which renders home the best school of virtue and of piety. Their progeny was numerous: for John Jewel was one of ten children, sons and daughters. So that, although his father was a man of a considerable estate, it might have been a matter of some difficulty to give him the costly education of a scholar, without the assistance of liberal relatives or friends. For his earliest training in the rudiments of grammar, he appears to have been indebted to the good offices of his maternal uncle, John Bellamy, the incumbent of Hampton. He was, thence, successively removed to Bramton, and Southmolton, and, lastly, to Barnstaple, where he had the good fortune to be placed under the care of Walter Bowen; a person of such sanctity of life, that he never ceased to be an object of love and veneration with his illustrious pupil. To the latest hour of Jewel's life, the very name of Bowen was a sufficient recommendation, for those who bore it, not only to his good will, but to his friendly services<sup>1</sup>. After the custom of those times, he was transferred from school to the University during his boyhood.

1535.  
Admitted at  
Merton Col-  
lege, Oxford.

He was admitted at Merton College, Oxford, before he had completed his thirteenth year; and was placed under the tuition of Mr. Peter Burrey, who was, afterwards,

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. p. 17. This instance of grateful attachment, calls to our mind what is recorded by Boswell of Samuel Johnson, who expressed his affection for his friend Dr. Bathurst, by saying—"Call a dog Bathurst, Sir, and I should love him."



preferred to the vicarage of Croydon. The instructor was scarcely worthy of the scholar: for Burrey was a man by no means distinguished for his attainments; and what was still more to be lamented, was very doubtfully disposed towards the Reformation, which, then, in the days of Henry VIII. was struggling, painfully and irregularly, onward. Fortunately, however, for Jewel, he had been accompanied from Devonshire by a companion who was entered at the same college, and consigned to the same instructor: and Burrey, finding himself unable to retain, or to do justice to both, committed Jewel to the care of Mr. John Parkhurst<sup>1</sup>, who was then a Fellow of Merton, and was afterwards promoted to the valuable rectory of Cleve, in the diocese of Gloucester, and, finally, was made Bishop of Norwich. This divine was originally of Magdalene College, and had there imbibed the principles of the Reformation, which he now laboured to instil into the mind of Jewel. With this view he took frequent opportunities of disputation with Peter Burrey, in the presence of his former pupil, respecting the prevalent controversies of the time. And, further, being desirous of comparing Tindal's translation of the New Testament with that of Coverdale, he employed Jewel to read the former version aloud, while he himself kept his eye upon the latter. In the midst of these exercises, a smile would, occasionally, steal over the countenance of the stripling, which did not escape the notice of his observant tutor. On the contrary, Parkhurst regarded it as an

Imbibes the principles of the Reformation.

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. 18, 19.

indication of early intelligence and sagacity,—as evidence of a mind keenly alive both to solecisms in style and grammar, and to absurdities and errors in religious doctrine. On one occasion, more especially, he was struck with this mark of attention and penetration. They had arrived, in the course of their collation, to the passage in the Apocalypse, in which the lukewarmness of the Church of Laodicea is reproved. And here, again, a smile was observed upon the face of Jewel. What it was that moved his fancy, we are not informed. But the attention of Parkhurst was so forcibly arrested by the circumstance, that he burst into the almost prophetic exclamation—“*Surely Paul’s Cross will, one day, ring of this boy!*”

It was during his connexion with Merton College that he became afflicted with a lameness which attended him to his grave. Being driven away by the plague, which broke out at Oxford, he removed to a place called Croxam<sup>1</sup>. The apartment he occupied there was mean, and probably cold and damp. But no personal inconveniences could interrupt the studious vigils of Jewel. He persevered in his habits of hard reading to a late hour of the night; till, at length, he was seized with a rheumatic affection, by which one of his feet was so severely injured, that he never completely recovered the use of it. After continuing four years at Merton College, he migrated to  
 1539. Corpus. His removal took place on the  
 Removes to  
 Corpus Christi 19th of August, in the year 1539, while  
 College, Oxford. he was in the seventeenth year of his age;

<sup>1</sup> In the life prefixed to Jewel’s works, it is said to be Witney. So likewise in Humphr. p. 25.

and it was effected at the urgent recommendation of Mr. Slater, and of his two tutors Burrey and Parkhurst, doubtless with a friendly view to the enlargement of his prospects. The advantages afforded by his new position, were improved by him to the very utmost. Boy as he was, he was placed, at once, in the first class of dialectics ; and his various exercises there, were such as more than justified the hopes and the commendations of his former instructors. He acquired such readiness and felicity in composition, that he soon outstripped his companions ; and actually became the teacher to a student, senior to himself, from whom he had, at first, received instruction. The President, and other Masters of Arts, were astonished and delighted with the essays, or orations, composed by himself, and recited by him, from memory, during the hour of dinner, according to the manner of those days. Horace appears to have been one of his most favourite authors : for by repeated perusals, he was able to recite the whole of his works accurately by heart. The modern reader may, possibly, be tempted to smile at one occasion, on which he is said to have excited the admiration of his College. The President, at that time, was Robert Morvent, formerly fellow of Magdalene College ; and promoted to the headship of Corpus, for his tried integrity and prudence in the conduct of affairs. He was less distinguished for his own personal acquirements, than for his promptness and liberality in patronizing the merit of others. A whimsical opportunity of winning the favour of this Mecænas presented itself to Jewel. The old man, it seems, had a dog, remarkable for its size and beauty : and this

noble animal the youthful scholar selected for his theme. He celebrated the excellences of the favourite quadruped in a copy of verses so elegant and so ingenious, that the whole society were loud in his praise! Nothing, in short, could well be more propitious, than the appearances which, for some time, attended his removal from Merton. At length, however, he found himself compelled to endure the penalty, so frequently imposed by despairing mediocrity on the possessors of eminent endowments. His merit exposed him to envy and aversion among his fellow-students. And such was the success of their unworthy artifices, that his own exercises were frequently suppressed; and public honours bestowed on very inferior performances. That the spirit of Jewel was something dashed by these petty jealousies and persecutions, may easily be imagined. But they did not break his courage or his perseverance, or interrupt, for a moment, the prosecution of his studies.

1540.  
Made Bachelor  
of Arts.

On the 20th of October, 1540, he proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts with great and general applause. If his former biographers have not been guilty of exaggeration, his habits of literary labour were such as it is impossible to think without astonishment, and even pain. It was his custom to rise at four in the morning, and to retire to rest at about ten at night. And nearly the whole of the interval, full eighteen hours, was employed by him in such intense study, that he seemed to require some one to remind him of his meals. And these meals, too, were usually of so meagre a quality, that they fur-

nished no sufficient support to his feeble and slender frame<sup>1</sup>. No human strength can venture, with impunity, upon a long-continued course of such abstemiousness and toil. Prodigious stores of learning may, indeed, be accumulated by this severity of application: but it is generally fatal to all hopes of health, or length of days. And thus it was with Jewel. His habits, to the end His studies and occupations. of his life, were such, or nearly such, as we have here described. And the consequence was, that his erudition was immense, but that his constitution sunk under his excessive labours, and that, most unhappily for the church, he was cut off before he had completed his fiftieth year.

The next seven years were, probably, the happiest, certainly the most peaceful, of Jewel's life. He was constantly adding to his intellectual treasures; and he was honourably engaged in communicating his wealth to others, both by private instruction, and afterwards by public lectures, as Reader in Humanity and Rhetoric, to which office he was chosen by his college. His scheme of study appears to have been exceedingly comprehensive. Of the moderns, Erasmus seems to have been the highest in his esteem: for he became familiar not merely with the *Chiliads* and the *Epistles*, but with the whole works of that indefatigable scholar. Among the ancient prose-writers, Cicero was not only the principal object of his admiration, but the source from which he laboured to enrich his style. At the

<sup>1</sup> Humph. p. 26.

same time, the practice of Demosthenes suggested to him the discipline by which he might best prepare himself for public speaking ; only that the woods of Shotover, instead of the ocean-beach, were the scenes of his solitary exercises in declamation. By labours and arts like these, he acquired the habit of expressing himself with facility and force, when called upon by sudden occasions, and with copiousness and dignity, when time for preparation was allowed. History and philosophy, logic and mathematics, all were included in his scheme of study : and the whole of his vast acquisitions were made, eventually, subservient to the mistress of all sciences, theology.

To her, indeed, his eye appears to have been constantly directed, even in the earliest period of his training : for his acquaintance with Augustine commenced while he was yet a Bachelor of Arts, and scarcely emerged from boyhood, — a circumstance which seems to imply a previous familiarity with the rudiments of divinity. It is pleasing to know that, all this while, he was quite as much distinguished for purity of life and gentleness of manners, as for profound scholarship and great mental endowments. In this respect, Calumny herself found him altogether unassailable. One remarkable testimony to his personal excellence and worth was heard from lips, which, perhaps, would gladly have given utterance to a very different report. Among the fellows of his college was one John Moren, the Dean of the College, a stern censor and disciplinarian ; well versed in Greek, but yet, like the Greeks, of a light, and festive humour, and,

His exemplary  
life.



moreover, in his own person, somewhat addicted to festive indulgence<sup>1</sup>. This "domestic witness<sup>2</sup>," was a decided enemy to the reformed faith; and consequently, well inclined to expose whatever blemishes might be discerned in the life and conversation of the youthful Protestant. But even he could find nothing worse to say of Jewel, than that his opinions were unsound. "I should love thee, Jewel"—he was accustomed to say—"if thou wert not a Zuinglian. Thou art a heretic in thy faith; but, certainly an angel in thy life. Truly, thou art an honest man,—but thou art a Lutheran!"

It will hardly be thought surprising that, young as he was, the talents, His reputation as a lecturer and tutor. accomplishments, and virtues of Jewel, should secure him the confidence of his college, and should give to him a commanding reputation both as a private teacher and a public lecturer. Among the number of his auditors and pupils were reckoned many honourable and even noble names. Of those who were more especially committed to his care, was one Mr. Antony Parkhurst, who was recommended to him by his early friend and patron, John Parkhurst. But this connexion was, unhappily, dissolved by the sinister influence of one Robert Serles, vicar of St. Peter's, Oxford, a bitter adversary to the "*New Learning*," both in religion and in literature. The grand cause of alarm which deprived Jewel of his pupil, was that the study of the Greek language entered into his system of instruction.

<sup>1</sup> This is Humphrey's character of the man: *Homo Græcè doctus, sed idem, Græcorum more, leviculus et bibaculus*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Humph. p. 25.

For such was the abject ignorance and prejudice, which, in those days, still lingered even in our Universities, that Greek was thought to be a channel for the conveyance of nothing but heresy; nay, was deemed by many to be synonymous with heresy itself! But, if any thing could indemnify Jewel for this mortification, it must have been the gratifying circumstance that, though Antony Parkhurst was forbidden to attend him, John Parkhurst, once his honoured tutor, now rector of Cleve, became his delighted auditor, and frequently came over to Oxford for that express purpose. The modesty of the youthful lecturer may, perhaps, have been distressed by the appearance of his ancient instructor among the ranks of his attentive scholars. But his mind was set at rest by the honest kindness and delicacy of his friend; who, far superior to all miserable jealousy, saluted him at the conclusion of a lecture with the following lines:

Olim discipulus mihi, chare Juelle, fuisti;  
Nunc ero discipulus, te renuente, tuus.

It would be injurious to the memory of Jewel to pass over this happy and useful period of his life, without adverting to the fidelity with which he fulfilled the laborious offices of tuition and instruction. The following representation has been left us, by his contemporary biographer, of the duties which he had to discharge towards his private pupils: and which no man ever fulfilled more conscientiously or more effectively: "He loved his pupils entirely, and like a father. As their preceptor, he sedulously instructed them; as their guardian, he assiduously



watched them. He suffered them to waste no time in trifles, or to wander away from their books, or to contract vicious habits among the common herd of scholars. It was his care that, while present with him, there should be no idleness among them; and that, when absent from him, they should not offend God either by word or deed. Besides the public lectures, they received lessons, in his chamber, on Ovid, and the other Latin poets, from whose works they made translations in English prose; and also on Livy, and other classic writers of the highest excellence. The *Partitiones Oratoriæ* of Cicero he proposed both to himself and to his pupils, as a most exquisite work, and worthy of the closest attention. He, moreover, composed a dialogue, embracing the whole sum of the Art of Rhetoric. At night, it was the practice for the pupils to recapitulate the business of the day. In the course of every week, they were exercised in declamation; and they were constantly accustomed to compose, or to recite, either in prose or verse. Their tutor was seldom, if ever moved to anger: though he sometimes resorted to the threat of the philosopher, '*I would chastise you, were I not angry.*' Being free from passion, he always proportioned the punishment to the offence. The only recreation which he allowed himself from these incessant labours, was the exercise of walking: and even then, he was always engaged either in secret meditation or in the instruction of his boys, or in disputing with others, after the method of Aristotle<sup>1</sup>." We have here an interesting picture of the duties of

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. p. 27, 28.

a private tutor in the University, during the simplicity of former times. The public labours of Jewel, as Reader in Humanity and Rhetoric, combined, with these obscure toils, to fill up the measure of his great reputation. The writings of Cicero were prominent among the various subjects which he illustrated by his learning and genius. And such was his power of inflaming his audience with the ardour of his own mind, that the fame of his eloquence was soon spread through the University ; and his lecture-room was often filled, not merely with members of his own society, but with hearers from various other colleges in Oxford.

1544.  
Commences  
Master of Arts.

On the 9th of February, 1544, Jewel commenced Master of Arts ; and the charges of his degree were borne by his generous and steady friend Mr. John Parkhurst. This, however, was only one of the various instances in which he was indebted to the munificence of that worthy man. Jewel was in the habit of visiting him by invitation, at his rectory of Cleve, two or three times in the course of each year ; and, sometimes, in company with other meritorious young men, who, like himself, were struggling through the difficulties and expenses of an academic education : and from these visits he seldom returned without substantial proofs of the liberality of his host. On one occasion, more particularly, we are told that Parkhurst entered the chamber of Jewel and his companions, on the morning fixed for their return to Oxford ; and, suddenly seizing on their purses, humorously exclaimed, —“ I wonder what money these miserable and beggarly Oxonians have about them ?” The exhibition,

it may be imagined, was *beggarly* enough. The purses were, indeed, most pitifully lean and empty. But the generosity of Parkhurst sent them away in a thriving and prosperous condition.

At what time Jewel received holy orders, or from whom, his biographers have not recorded. Neither have they informed us when he was elected to a fellowship in his College. That he *was* a fellow of Corpus, however, is beyond all question. It also appears that, after the accession of Edward VI.,  
1546.  
in 1546, he was likewise fortunate enough to enjoy the patronage and friendship of several affluent and liberal men, who contributed to assist him with money for the purchase of books; a purpose for which little could be spared, in those days, from the scanty revenues of a College fellowship. In addition to the continued kindness of Parkhurst, he now experienced the liberality of Mr. Curtop, formerly a fellow of Corpus, and then a Canon of Christ Church, who aided him with a yearly allowance of forty shillings. He was likewise recommended by his character and principles to the good offices of Mr. Chambers, a gentleman of singular beneficence and piety, who was entrusted with the distribution of certain funds, collected among the nobility and others in London, for the benefit of indigent scholars professing the doctrines of the Reformation; and who assigned to Jewel an allowance of six pounds a year,—a sum very far from despicable, when considered with reference to the value of money in those times.

From these circumstances it is manifest that Jewel was now considered as a decided and open friend to the Protestant cause. We have already seen that,

from his very boyhood, he was anxious for the deliverance and purification of the Church of England; and it is clear that he now made a public and notorious profession of his principles: for it must be observed that the contributions from London, above adverted to, were expressly for the relief of those Academics who were willing to subscribe certain articles<sup>1</sup> in condemnation of the most offensive of the Romish tenets; namely, the supremacy of the Pope, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, justification by works, purgatory, praying to the Saints, worship of images, religious services in a tongue unknown to the people, and, lastly, the refusal of the sacramental cup to the laity. These articles must, of course, have been subscribed by Jewel; for otherwise he would have been disqualified for the bounty which Mr. Chambers was employed to distribute. But this is not all. It appears that this gentleman was authorized to engage preachers for the instruction both of the studious and the common people, in the principles of the reformed faith: and on one occasion this office was committed to Jewel. The substance of the address then delivered by him to the Oxonians has been preserved<sup>2</sup>. He commences with professions of his own insufficiency for the task imposed upon him; and then—after some preliminary reflections on the pursuits which constitute the true splendour and dignity of the University, and some grateful acknowledgments of the zeal and generosity of his patrons in London—he proceeds at once to an exhibition of the state of

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Id. p. 35—40.

religion in the country. He deplores the distractions occasioned by the conflict between superstition and truth; and presents an afflicting and melancholy picture of the decay and ruin which they had brought on the University. He then breaks forth into exultation and thanksgiving at the brighter prospects which were at that time opening before them. It was now manifest that the great and merciful God had not abandoned his people; and one signal proof of his favour might be seen in this one fact—that, whereas in former days learning had been blighted by neglect and poverty, in these times she was revived and refreshed by that princely munificence which had retained, by liberal reward, the services of distinguished scholars and divines. He concludes by fervent exhortations to a conduct worthy of the goodness of Almighty God. A sense of shame, the desolate condition of the true faith, a recollection of the indignation and vengeance of God; all these combined to admonish them of the arduous duty which was now laid upon all. This, he said, was no time for daintiness, or ease, or festivity, or license, or impunity in evil; but rather for literary labour, and studious vigils, and praiseworthy pursuits, and severity of life. For thus only could our good works so shine before men, that they might glorify our Father which is in heaven.

From this time forward Jewel may be regarded as among the foremost men of his day. His reputation was no longer confined to the walls of his own college. It flew abroad over the whole University. He came forth from his retirement, and was familiar to the eyes of all. He took a prominent share in every

thing that related to the interests of religion and of literature. The establishment of Peter Martyr in the

Contracts a  
close intimacy  
with Peter  
Martyr.

Chair of Theology more especially contributed to bring him into notice; and may be considered as one of the most memorable incidents of his life. From the moment of the elevation of this celebrated Divine, Jewel became one of his most constant and attentive hearers: and the result was a close and confidential intimacy between them, which was never afterwards interrupted, and which was one of the proudest and happiest circumstances of Jewel's life. His veneration for the learning and ability of the Professor, was shown not merely by his attendance on him at the Schools, but by laborious diligence in committing his public instructions to writing. In this manner he made his own the whole of Martyr's Lectures on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and, still more perfectly, those on the Epistle to the Romans<sup>1</sup>. For this species of exercise he was peculiarly fitted by his skill in expeditious writing. He had invented, for his own use and convenience, an ingenious scheme of short hand, which enabled him to transfer to paper, with surprising accuracy, whatever was orally delivered in his presence. It was doubtless this accomplishment which led Martyr to request that he would undertake the arduous task of recording the whole of his celebrated disputation with several of the Papal Doctors, which began on the 28th of May, and lasted five whole days. And the same accomplishment enabled him afterwards to perform a similar good office for

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. p. 40.



Cranmer and for Ridley, on the famous debate which preceded their condemnation in 1554.

In the year 1550 Jewel proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. It <sup>1550.</sup> Made Bachelor of Divinity. was probably in the same year, and on the occasion of his Bachelor's degree<sup>1</sup>, that he preached his admirable Latin sermon on 1 Pet. iv. 11, *If any man speak, let him speak as the Oracles of God*. He was not, however, content with his academical duties; but, being desirous of more pastoral occupation, he accepted the living of Sunningwell, near Oxford, a benefice of <sup>Accepts the living of Sunningwell.</sup> very trifling value, merely that he might have an opportunity of being useful to a country congregation. To this place, accordingly, he went on foot, on every other Sunday; and this, too, in spite of his lameness, which made such journeys very laborious and painful<sup>2</sup>. At the same time, he continued to exercise his office as a preacher, both privately in his own College, and publicly in the pulpit of the University. And in December, 1552, he was appointed by the President of his College, to deliver an English hortatory speech in the chapel, in com-

<sup>1</sup> But this is not certain. It is merely a surmise prefixed to the English translation of the Sermon in the edition of his works, 1611. Humphrey has printed the original Latin (p. 49—66), but gives no date. He only says it was preached within the octaves of the Ascension.

<sup>2</sup> We find in Strype's Annals (vol. ii. part ii. p. 268, Oxf. ed.) notice of "A licence for preaching to John Jewel;" dated December, 1551. Whether he delayed the commencement of his labours as a preacher at Sunningwell till he had obtained this license, we are not informed.

moration of Richard Fox, the founder of the society. By way of text, or motto, to this oration, he chose these words—*The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.* Ps. cxii. 6. The main object of his harangue was to impress on his hearers that their own studious and laborious habits would be the memorial by which they might honour the name of their munificent benefactor. And he ingeniously reminded them that, while divine honours were rendered by the ancient Romans to the goddesses *Stimula* and *Horta* within the walls, the lazy deities, *Quies* and *Otium*, had a temple beyond the *Porta Collina*, that they might receive no worship from any native of Rome<sup>1</sup>. That his high reputation had travelled beyond the precincts of the University will appear from the

1552. following fact:—On the 5th of June,

1552, Dr. Morvent, the President of Corpus, together with Welsh and Allen, two of the Fellows, were summoned to appear before the Council, for using a service different from that which was appointed by the Service Book on Corpus Christi Day. On the 15th of June they were committed to the Fleet. Dr. Morvent was detained till the 17th of July, when he was set at liberty

Temporary government of his College committed to him.

on his recognizance; and, during this interval of six weeks, the government of the College was committed to Jewel by order of the Council<sup>2</sup>. In short, he now occupied a position which demanded incessant exertion and self-devotion, being among the most active

<sup>1</sup> See Humphr. p. 45—49.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's Ann. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 52.



and distinguished promoters of sound literature, and of religion *pure and undefiled*. The season, however, was now unhappily approaching, which, for a time, was to obstruct his labours, and even to cast a transitory shadow over his reputation as a faithful servant and champion of the Truth.

## CHAPTER II.

1553—1555.

*Accession of Queen Mary—Jewel expelled from his College—His farewell—He is received at Broadgates Hall—Employed as orator, to address the Queen—His address—Insulted by the Papists, and watched by Marshall—He goes to Cleve to consult Parkhurst—His disappointment—His subscription to Popish Articles—Flies from England to Frankfort.*

1553.  
Accession of Queen Mary.

THE accession of Queen Mary was a signal to the Protestants, either for flight, or preparation for Martyrdom. Jewel was among the earliest who experienced the pelting of the tempest, which was soon to come down in blood upon the champions of the reformed faith. We have seen him, hitherto, the pride of his own College, and the admiration of the whole University. But the hostility and jealousy which had long been lying in ambush, now sprung upon him like an armed man. For, no sooner was the Popish sovereign established upon her throne, than it was suddenly discovered that he was no longer fit to remain a member of the society of which he had been recently considered as the most illustrious ornament. Without waiting for any change of the law, or any order from the government, his enemies hastened to the

gratification of their malice by driving him from their College. The grounds of his expulsion were, that he had been a constant attendant on the lectures of Peter Martyr,—that he himself was a preacher of heresy,—that he had been ordained, not according to the ancient ritual, but the new service book,—and, lastly, that he had refused to be present at the mass. While such was the impatience with which he was persecuted, it was, perhaps, scarcely to be expected that he should be allowed even the melancholy gratification of addressing a public farewell to his former associates and auditors. So it was, however, that this indulgence was actually granted him. His parting words have been preserved to us; and we are told that they drew tears from his adversaries themselves. It would be injurious to his memory, to withhold them from the reader:

“In these my latest lectures, I have done that, which famished men are used to do; who, when they see that their meal is likely to be, suddenly and unexpectedly, snatched from them, gorge themselves with greater haste and greediness. For, when once I resolved thus to put an end to my lectures, and perceived that I was forthwith to be deprived of speaking to you—(which was as it were my daily bread)—I scrupled not, contrary to my former usage, to lay before you much unpalatable, hasty, ill-prepared matter: for I perceive that I have fallen upon the displeasure, and the evil eyes, of some; by what ill desert of mine, it is for them to consider. Certain it is, that they who would not have me here, would not suffer me to live

Jewel expelled  
from his Col-  
lege.

His farewell.

any where, if it were in their power. I yield, however, to the pressure of the times ; and if they can derive any satisfaction from my calamity, I would offer no hindrance to it. But, as Aristides prayed, when he was going into banishment, and quitting his native soil, even so do I now pray to the Almighty and Most Gracious God, that they, whom I now am leaving, may think of me no more. And what more than this can they desire ? And yet I would beseech you, young men, to pardon me, if I grieve to be torn away from the spot, which was the scene of my earlier days ; where I have since lived ; and where I have been in some esteem and honour. But why do I delay to sum up my ruin in one word ? Woe is me, that,—grievous as it is to utter it,—I now must say, farewell my studies ; farewell these abodes ; farewell this polished seat of learning ; farewell your delightful society and converse ; farewell young men ; farewell lads ; farewell associates ; farewell brethren ; farewell beloved in mine eyes ; farewell all, farewell <sup>1</sup> !”

It is wonderful that this calamity did not apprise Jewel that, from that moment, there could be no permanent safety for him in Oxford, or even in England. He surely might have found friends then, to assist and favour his escape ; as he found them afterwards, under circumstances of aggravated difficulty. But he probably clung, with a sort of desperate attachment, to the University, which had been the scene of his achievements and his honours : and being, now, in a state of destitution, he sought and

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. p. 74, 75.

found an asylum in Broadgates Hall, since known as Pembroke College. For some time, indeed, there appeared no urgent reason for repenting his resolution to remain. In the first place, it could scarcely be unknown to him that, shortly after his expulsion, the society, which had driven him away, began bitterly to feel and to deplore the loss of such a man. He must, likewise, probably have heard of the honourable testimony to his worth and talent, which was borne by Dr. Wright<sup>1</sup>, Archdeacon of Oxford. This divine, together with Brookes, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, happened to be present when Morvent, the President of Merton College, and one Welch, a Fellow of the same, were boasting of the care with which the apparel and ornaments of the Church had been preserved in their society. "Even so it may be," said Dr. Wright; "but still there is one ornament and treasure, far more precious than all the rest together, which you yourselves have wilfully thrown away!" obviously alluding to Jewel, whom they had so iniquitously banished. The knowledge of these

Is received at  
Broadgates  
Hall.

<sup>1</sup> Humph. p. 75. This Dr. Wright was a person of great candour and moderation; but his virtue does not appear to have been of the sternest complexion. He complied in the reign of Mary. He was one of the visitors of Magdalen College, when the President and many of the Fellows were ejected. He was also one of Cardinal Pole's visitors of the whole University. His good word was, nevertheless, often ready in favour of the *Gospellers*; of which, his testimony to the merits of Jewel, at a very dangerous crisis, is an honourable instance. After the accession of Elizabeth he openly professed the principles of the Reformation. —See Strype's Annals, vol. i. part i. p. 382, 383. Oxford Ed.

circumstances must have been gratifying and consolatory to the exile : and he must have derived still more substantial satisfaction in finding that a cordial welcome awaited him in Broadgates Hall, and that his reputation still surrounded him with numerous and attentive auditors ; and this, too, while the decaying prosperity and renown of his former college, indicated to all the world the severity of its self-inflicted loss.

Employed as Orator to address the Queen. It further appears that the University of Oxford was far more just and kind to him than his own brethren ; for they actually appointed the outcast and the heretic to the office of their Orator, and employed him in that capacity to compose an Address of Congratulation to the Queen. It may possibly be thought strange that the Protestant Jewel should undertake an office of this ambiguous and perplexing description. But although he and others of the same persuasion must have been full of secret misgivings, from the first moment of Mary's accession, it was scarcely possible that they should foresee all the atrocities which followed. Besides, the hopes of the Reformers were at this moment animated by the promises of toleration which the Queen is said to have held out to the men of Norfolk and Suffolk, and which she certainly did hold out to the Londoners. Under these circumstances, Jewel may have thought himself both honourably and usefully employed in addressing, even to the Popish Sovereign, the language of confidence and loyalty. It has been surmised that the office now in question was treacherously tendered to him with a view to the accomplishment of his ruin.

But there is no sufficient ground for ascribing even to his worst enemies any such refinement in perfidy. The Protestants, doubtless, were prompted to this measure by their reliance on his judgment and discretion; the Romanists may have considered it a sort of triumph that their Royal Patroness should be complimented by the most distinguished scholar in Oxford; and both Romanists and Protestants must have felt assured that, at least, the literary character of their learned body would be faithfully and powerfully represented by the Orator they had chosen.

Be this, however, as it may, Jewel His Address. accepted of the office; and certainly the task was one of such delicacy as to demand all his prudence and address. It has been justly enough observed, that it required of him that he should “express the countenance of the Roman senators, in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, exquisitely tempered and composed, to keep out joy and sadness, which both strove, at the same time, to display their colours in it; the one for “dead Augustus, the other for Tiberius reigning<sup>1</sup>.” Nothing more than a brief abstract of his performance has been preserved to us. From this it appears that the tenour of his Address was as follows:—It began by observing that the public sorrow for the loss of King Edward was now succeeded by joy for the dispersion of those dangers which had obstructed her Majesty’s accession to the throne. It then enlarged on the mighty preparations of her adversaries, and on the loyal spirit with which their designs had been defeated; from all which it

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 27.



might be concluded that she was armed with a three-fold title,—her own hereditary right, the consent of the English people, and the approbation of God. In many other quarters, her triumph was celebrated by the concourse of applauding multitudes, and by the display of magnificence and wealth; but the Oxonians had nothing to offer, save the riches of learning, and the resources of their own minds; and these were all now gladly consecrated to her Majesty. The tribute might indeed be attended with less of clamour and commotion than was heard elsewhere; but it was, at least, equally distinguished by sincerity and devotion. Nothing, therefore, remained but to pray to Almighty God, that, as it was his will that the beginning of her administration should be bloodless, even so it might continue to the last day of her reign <sup>1</sup>.

If this be a correct representation of the substance of the Address, it must be allowed that there was in it much of the serpent's wisdom, though without any sacrifice of the simplicity of the dove. The loyalty expressed by it was, in fact, no more than was generally felt throughout the kingdom, in spite of the Romish principles of the Queen; and the conclusion of it was a very dexterous insinuation that the will of God would be violated by an abandonment of the moderate temper with which the reign of her Majesty commenced. It was therefore well fitted to satisfy both parties, without any unworthy compromise of the interests of the Reformation. There was, however, one rather whimsical and very ominous cir-

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. p. 79, 80.



cumstance attending the preparation of this letter, which must have sent a chill into the heart of the Orator. The Vice Chancellor of Oxford at that time was Dr. Tresham, a most inveterate Papist. To him, however, it was necessary for Jewel to submit his composition, before it was despatched to the Court. He accordingly waited upon the dignitary for that purpose; and was actually reading the letter to him, when, in the midst of his recitation, the great bell of Christ Church suddenly began to toll for the celebration of Mass. This bell, it must be observed, Tresham had recently caused to be new hung, and to be superstitiously christened by the name of Mary. And no sooner did the sound reach his ears, than the Orator, and his harangue, and the Queen herself, were all forgotten. He burst out into the childish and almost doting exclamation, "O delicate and delightful harmony! O lovely Mary, how musical is her voice! How strangely doth she enchant my ears!" Of course not a syllable more of Jewel's composition could be heard. He was compelled to retire with the mortifying reflection, that his rhetoric had been silenced by a sound which seemed to ring the knell of all his own bright anticipations.

Both this, and other signs of evil augury, were but too speedily verified. The bitterness of his enemies was becoming daily more manifest. His meekness and patience were sorely put to the test by the insolence and the malice of the Papists; and—what was still worse—from the hour of Queen Mary's accession there had been watchfully fixed upon him an eye that knew not

Insulted by the  
Papists, and  
watched by  
Marshal.

to pity or to spare ; for it was the eye of one who had the malignant heart of a renegade in his bosom. Is it possible that the Romanist, who exults in the momentary fall of Cranmer and of Jewel, can have forgotten the name of their bitterest persecutor, Marshal, the unprincipled and faithless dean of Christchurch ? Under the reign of Edward VI. this man renounced the errors and corruptions of Rome, and stood forward prominently among the patrons of the Reformation. When Mary succeeded to the throne, he was among the most merciless champions of the Papacy—the terror of the heretic *Gospellers*, and the tyrant of the University. On the death of the Popish Queen, he lived for some time in concealment, in the northern parts of England, but was at length apprehended, and summoned before the Council. The result was, a third change of profession, and a formal subscription to the articles of 1562 ; and, if his life had been longer spared, he would have sealed his disgrace by a public and oral testimony at St. Paul's Cross<sup>1</sup>. And this was the man whose whole soul was now bent upon chasing Jewel into the toils, and making his precious life a sacrifice to the vengeance of Rome !

It would seem that, some time previously to Marshal's fatal attack upon his fortitude, Jewel had begun to take serious alarm at the gathering symptoms of the storm which was about to burst upon him ; for

<sup>1</sup> See Strype's Annals, vol. i. part ii. p. 48, 49, where Marshal's subscription is printed from the Cecil papers. It is dated St. Thomas, 1562. Its language is—"Ego Ricardus Martialis præfatus, *ultrò, volens, consentiensque*, meâ manu subscripsi."

he had actually undertaken a journey to Cleve, on foot, in the midst of frost and snow, for the express purpose of advising with his constant friend, Parkhurst, respecting the fittest course of proceeding under the impending dangers. To his cruel disappointment, he found, on his arrival, that Parkhurst had already fled. The restoration of the Mass had been sufficient to satisfy *him*, that to remain longer at Cleve would be no better than madness; and, accordingly, nothing was left for Jewel but to return, in weariness and dejection, to the scene of danger at Oxford. It must have been subsequently to this dispiriting journey, that he wrote two short and hasty letters to Parkhurst, intimating the deepest anxiety for the safety and welfare of his friend, but showing that the writer was then ignorant where the object of his correspondence was to be found. In the former of these letters he says—“My own Parkhurst, what am I to believe is now become of you? Are you living or dead? Are you weeping? or, are you in the *Fleet*?<sup>1</sup> *News*, with us, there is none. Of things *old* we have enough, and too much. Unless the trouble is too great, write me back in what position your affairs now are—what your hopes, and what your fears.” Again, in his second letter, written a few days after, he asks—“What shall I write to you, or wherein shall I be silent?

Goes to Cleve  
to consult  
Parkhurst.

His disappoint-  
ment.

His letters to  
Parkhurst.

<sup>1</sup> The Latin original of these letters shows, that the mind of Jewel, however depressed, was here at leisure for a *pun*, which cannot be preserved in English. “Quid ego te nunc putem agere? Mori-ne, an vivere? In *fletu* esse, an in *Fletu*!” Many of the *Gospellers* had then been committed to the *Fleet* prison.

I have long been anxious to know what you are doing at present, what you have been doing, and *whereabouts you are*. Although Cleve has been taken from you, and every thing else has been changed, your own courage, I trust, can neither be taken from you, or altered<sup>1</sup>." From these letters it is obvious that Jewel was ignorant, when he wrote them, of the abode and fortunes of Parkhurst: and as they were dated from Oxford, it is equally clear that they must have been written subsequently to his return from his abortive expedition to Cleve, which was undertaken in the expectation of finding Parkhurst *there*.

It was at a time when the spirits of Jewel had been thus distracted with perplexity and apprehension, that Marshal contrived to let loose upon him the *familiars* of persecution. At his instigation, they presented to him a paper containing the most essential doctrines of the Romish Faith; and they demanded his subscription, on pain of martyrdom by fire. The resolution of Jewel, (unfortunately for his good fame, though, in some respects, most fortunately for the Church,) was not proof against the assault. Not a moment was allowed for deliberation, or for consulting with his friends. Instant compliance, or the certainty of an agonizing death, was the only alternative before him; and flesh and spirit sunk under the trial. He took the pen in his hand; and, with an air of levity which must sadly

His subscrip-  
tion to Popish  
Articles.

<sup>1</sup> These two letters, or rather fragments, may be seen in Strype's Ann. vol. ii. p. ii. pp. 453, 454, Oxford edition. The date of the former is *Oxon. 15th Oct.*—of the latter, *Oct. 22. Oxon.* But no year is mentioned in either.

have belied the heaviness of his heart, he said, "What! have you a mind to see how well I can write?" He then hastily set his name to the paper, and thus wrote himself—an *apostate*!

At what period it was that Jewel was thus assailed, and thus overcome, has not been precisely noted by former writers. It is, however, absolutely certain, that it must have been very considerably later than April 1554, for at that time we find him acting, with every appearance of security, as notary in behalf of Cranmer and of Ridley, during their disputation at Oxford<sup>1</sup>; and this he could not possibly have done if he had then signed his own recantation, or even if he were himself in immediate and pressing jeopardy. It was, most probably, not till at least a twelvemonth after this, that he was called upon to set his hand to Marshal's paper. It is indeed surprising that one who had been so notoriously active in the cause of the Reformation should so long have escaped the fangs of the destroyer, and this, too, while the fires of persecution were raging throughout the land. At length, however, the hand of *the enemy and the avenger* fell heavily upon him, and, as we have seen, he sunk under its weight. From that moment Jewel must have been a heart-stricken man. He would have to encounter, from his former friends, the "altered eye of hard unkindness," or the yet more intolerable look of sorrow and compassion. From his enemies, he was condemned to endure the scowl of unsated malice, which still thirsted for his blood. All these circumstances conspired to make his situation insufferably

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Cranmer.

wretched, and to persuade him, at last, that Oxford was no place for him. He accordingly resolved, though too late for his honour or his peace, to flee for his life, and to seek an asylum among his brethren on the continent.

His escape, it seems, was almost through  
Flies from                      the very fire ! Had he remained in Oxford  
England to                      but one night longer, he must inevitably  
Frankfort.  
have perished ; nay, had he travelled to London by the direct road, his pursuers would have been upon him. Whether by accident or design, however, he fortunately took a different way. Notwithstanding his lameness, he was under the necessity of going on foot, and having travelled till he was exhausted with weariness and misery, and half dead with cold, he threw himself on the ground ; and that night would probably have been his last, if he had not been providentially discovered by Augustine Berner, a Swiss, who had been a servant to Bishop Latimer, and was afterwards a minister of the Gospel. To that faithful servant of God Jewel owed his preservation. Berner, on seeing his wretched condition, immediately provided him with a horse, and conveyed him to the house of the Lady Ann Warcup, a widow, who was a firm friend to the suffering Protestants. From her he received entertainment and protection, until a convenient opportunity occurred for sending him on to London.

But even in London his situation was imminently perilous. He was compelled to change his lodgings several times. Happily he found a powerful friend in Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who kindly furnished him with money for his journey, and procured him a

safe passage to the continent. He immediately repaired to Frankfort, which was then a chief city of refuge for the persecuted Reformers; and arrived there at the beginning of the second year of Queen Mary's reign, that is, somewhere about July or August, 1555.

1555.



## CHAPTER III.

1555—1558.

*Jewel at Frankfort—He publicly confesses and abjures his Recantation—Is kindly received by Peter Martyr, at Strasburgh—Follows Peter Martyr to Zurich—Visits Padua—His efforts to comfort the Protestants—Dissensions among the Exiles—Jewel endeavours to assuage the strife.*

Jewel at  
Frankfort.

AT Frankfort Jewel found himself in the midst of a great company of Protestant fugitives, from whom he met with a most cordial and fraternal welcome ; more especially, because he appeared among them as one recovered from the very jaws of destruction. Still it could not be forgotten that he brought with him a name tainted by the odour of unfaithfulness. And it was quite indispensable that this evil savour should be cleansed away, by a public act of confession and penitence, before he could be received into the full confidence of his brethren in adversity. He was, therefore, advised, in the strongest manner, to make an open and voluntary retraction of his subscription : and the two persons, by whom this measure was most urgently recommended, were Samson, late Dean of Chichester, and his old benefactor Chambers, who were both at Frankfort when Jewel arrived there<sup>1</sup>. Little in-



treaty, however, was required. The counsels of his friends found an immediate echo in his own heart; and he followed their suggestions without delay. His subscription to the Popish articles had been publicly made in St. Mary's church, at Oxford<sup>1</sup>. He now, therefore, resolved that his abjuration of them should be pronounced, as publicly, before the face of a Christian assembly. He accordingly on the very next Sunday after his arrival, proclaimed his own weakness, from the pulpit, in language of deep humiliation and bitter self-reproach. In a voice almost stifled with sighs and tears, he exclaimed,—“It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart, that made my weak hand commit this wickedness.” He then fervently implored the pardon of Almighty God whom he had offended, and the forgiveness of the Church which he had dishonoured. The whole congregation were moved, even to weeping, by the passionate expression of his shame and sorrow; and, at once, restored him to his former place in their esteem. There was not one among them who did not, thenceforth, embrace him as a beloved brother, and almost as an angel of God. Perhaps they even valued him still more highly for his ingenuous repentance, than they would have done, if he had never fallen<sup>2</sup>.

Publicly confesses and abjures his recantation.

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Biogr. p. 31, note 8.

<sup>2</sup> Humphr. p. 86.—Eccl. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 31.—“I would most willingly,” says Dr. Featly, the author of the Life prefixed to Jewel's works, “have laid my finger upon this foul scar. But the truth of love must not prejudice the love of truth. And I verily think, the wisdom of God, who draweth good out of man's evil, so ordered the matter. For, as among the fathers,

“It is an easy thing,” says one of his biographers, “for those who were never tried, to censure the frailty of those that have truckled, for some time, under the shock of a mighty temptation. But let such remember St. Paul’s advice, *Let him that stand-*

St. Augustine was most famous for his many works, but especially two,—to wit, his *Retractions*, (which are retractions of his errors), and his *Confessions* (which are retractions of his life),—where we find this modest admonition to the readers of his books: ‘He who after thy calling, O Lord, hath followed thy voice, and avoideth those enormous crimes which he readeth me here confessing, let him not laugh at me, seeing it was the only preservative of the same Physician’s grace that kept me from these dangerous diseases, which now it hath cured in me. In whom the spirit is strongest, the flesh is weak. And where the flesh falleth, through weakness, the spirit is ready to raise it up again.’

“The church of God hath had many a Castus and Æmilius foiled in the first combat, yet conquerors in the second. *Et fortiores ignibus facti sunt, qui ante ignibus cesserunt; et, unde superati sunt, inde superarunt*: that is, overcame the violence of fire, whereof they had been overcome. St. Peter recovers the field, with a threefold promise of love, which he had lost by a threefold denial of fear. Pope Marcellinus washeth out his stain of idolatry with tears of repentance and martyrdom. The Christian soldiers, under Julian, the apostate, expiated the burning incense, which their hands had offered up unto idols, by offering their whole bodies to be burnt for the wickedness of their hands. Cranmer purged his polluted hand, that had subscribed, with fire, before he was made an Holocaust. Origen and Jewel repealed their public subscription by public confession and contrition. Origen, being requested to preach at Hierusalem, and choosing for his text those words of the 50th Psalm,—‘*But unto the ungodly, saith God, why dost thou preach my laws, and takest my covenant in thy mouth?*’—had no sooner read them, than he sate down, shut the book, and commented upon them only with sighs and tears.”

*eth, take heed lest he fall.* This great man's fall shall ever be my lesson. And, if this glistening Jewel were thus clouded and foiled,—*God be merciful to me a sinner*<sup>1</sup> !”

Jewel had not long been at Frankfort, before he experienced the value of his intimacy with the late Professor of Divinity at Oxford, Peter Martyr, who, at that time, was settled at Strasburgh. The escape of that eminent Protestant, was, all circumstances considered, a wonderful deliverance. The Romanists must have been sorely exasperated to see a foreigner importing his stores of heresy and schism into their *Catholic* country. They must have felt, too, that no man had inflicted deeper wounds, than he, upon the cause which was now become triumphant. And immediately on the death of Edward VI., the keenness of their enmity began to manifest itself at Oxford. Tresham, of Christchurch, more especially, was impatient to make the day of vengeance bitter to the Florentine; and lost no opportunity of heaping contumely and insult upon him. Martyr, therefore, perceiving that there was neither peace nor safety at Oxford, sought refuge for a time at Lambeth, where he was sure of finding whatever protection or hospitality Cranmer was then able to afford. In the mean time, the hottest of his adversaries were active in their endeavours to procure his commitment to prison. The new government, however, had not cast away all respect for public faith. The national honour had been, virtually, pledged for the safety of Martyr, when he was invited to

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Biog. vol. iv. p. 31.

England in the former reign. He was, now, therefore, discharged of all further employment in this country, and suffered to depart in peace. Even Gardiner, himself, instead of insisting on measures of severity against him, seemed almost disposed to build a bridge of gold for his retreat: for no one was more forward than the Lord Chancellor in expediting all things needful for his departure. So that Martyr, having first armed himself with the queen's licence and passport, bade farewell to England, without molestation, and reached Strasburgh in safety on the 30th of October, 1553 <sup>1</sup>.

Kindly received by Peter Martyr, at Strasburgh.

It is greatly to the honour of Martyr, that Jewel, his attached friend, and attentive auditor, seems never to have been absent from his thoughts. For, no sooner did he learn that the exile was safe at Frankfort, than he urgently entreated him to make Strasburgh his abode. And these solicitations were so cordial and so often repeated, that Jewel found it impossible to resist them. To Strasburgh accordingly he went; and the reception he met there was fully answerable to the warmth of the invitation. He was received by Martyr into his own house; and became, in effect, a member of his family. He had likewise the unspeakable satisfaction of enjoying the society of many learned and faithful Protestants, among whom we may number the names of Nowell, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's; Cole, the President of Corpus, Ponet, late Bishop of Winchester, Edmund Grindal, Edwin Sandys, Sir John Cheke, and Sir Anthony Cooke.

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 31, 32, and note 9.

By these illustrious confessors, their place of exile was converted into a seminary of learning, and a school of piety<sup>1</sup>. They were unwearied in study, they were fervent in charity, and they were instant in prayer. Their hours of refection were enlivened, alternately with instructive conversation, and with blameless festivity and mirth. They were as a band of friends and brethren, *sharpening the countenances* of each other, and anxious only that the chastisements of God might be sanctified unto their souls. They lived, as men, in whom patience worketh experience, and experience hope, and whose hope made them not ashamed. And to crown all, Peter Martyr was among them, just what he had been in England, the director of their studies, the encourager of their faith, and the helper of their joy. The Ethics of Aristotle, and the Book of Judges were the principal subjects of his lectures: and here, as at Oxford, Jewel was the most assiduous of his auditors. It was his practice to reduce to writing the substance of each lecture. The rough draft was then corrected, in conference with the lecturer himself, before the hour of dinner: and afterwards the whole was fairly transcribed by Jewel himself. And in this manner it was that Martyr's Commentary on the Book of Judges was prepared for the press<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The words of Humphrey are,—“*In hoc literatissimo Collegio, quis literarum ardor, quæ studiorum contentio, quæ laborum perpressio, quæ animorum conjunctio, ac præcipuè, quàm fervidæ ad Deum preces, quàm profunda suspiria; quanta sermonum et colloquiorum festivitas, quæ gravitas cum lepore condita.*” p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Humphr. p. 88, 89.

At Strasburgh, therefore, Jewel must have found himself, as it were, in the midst of another Oxford ; for he was there once more in the society of his former companion and guide—his own familiar friend and venerated teacher ; and he was enabled almost to forget the pains and miseries of banishment, in the resumption of those habits and pursuits which had always formed the pride and solace of his life. His residence in this retreat, however, was not destined to be of very long duration. On the decease of Conrad Pellicanus, the professor of Hebrew at Zuric (who died at the age of nearly one hundred years), Martyr was solicited by the senate to occupy the vacant chair. After some hesitation, he accepted the office, and accordingly removed from Strasburgh to Zuric, on the 13th of July, 1556. This removal, however, effected no separation between him and Jewel ; for the latter accompanied his friend to his new place of settlement, and continued to live domesticated with him there, precisely as he had done at Strasburgh, and to be not only the companion, but the assistant, of his literary pursuits ; for, after the labours of the morning were completed, Jewel was accustomed to read aloud to him some passages from the writings of the ancient Fathers, and, more especially, from the works of St. Augustine, whose meditations always filled them with admiration and delight. At Zuric, too, Jewel had the gratification to be surrounded with many distinguished brethren in exile, among whom were Thomas Lever, and James Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham. All these faithful sufferers were, for some time, chiefly indebted for their support to the

Follows Peter  
Martyr to  
Zuric.



munificence of their Protestant friends in England. This source of supply, however, was at length cut off. It happened that the notorious Stephen Gardiner was, about that period, at Calais, whither he had been dispatched, together with Cardinal Pole and others, to meet the ambassadors of the Emperor and the King of France, for the purpose of pacific negotiation. He there learned, with the bitterest indignation, that the Protestants on the Continent were living on contributions collected in England; and he vowed, in his wrath, that the banished heretics should very shortly be compelled to gnaw their finger-nails for hunger. His atrocious prophecy, however, was happily defeated. He succeeded, in a great measure, it is true, in intercepting these charitable subsidies, and in making the contributors feel the weight of his displeasure. But when this current of benefaction was stopped, another was instantly opened, partly by the liberality of the foreign divines, partly by that of the senators of Zurich, and partly by the bounty of Christopher, Prince of Wittenberg.

The kindness of Peter Martyr must have relieved Jewel from the necessity of making any heavy demands upon the charitable funds, which were thus provided for many of his less fortunate brethren. To some extent, however, he must, in all probability, have partaken of these benefactions; for it is not easy to imagine what other resources can have enabled him to undertake a journey to Padua, and a residence there, for the purposes of study. That he did actually venture upon such an expedition, at some time subsequently

*Visits Padua.*

to his migration to Zurich, there are very strong reasons for believing. The fact has not, indeed, been formally introduced into the narrative of any one of his biographers. It may, however, be reasonably inferred, from a letter written by him, when he was Bishop of Salisbury, to a Venetian gentleman, by the name of Scipio, who had expressed his astonishment that the summons to the Council of Trent had been wholly disregarded by the king of England. It appears, from the answer to this letter, that Scipio was at Padua, in the public service of the Venetian state, at the time when Jewel was prosecuting his studies there, and that an intimate acquaintance had been formed between them. Now, of any residence of Jewel at Padua no other mention has been preserved; and there is nothing in this incidental notice of it which leads to any conjecture respecting the period at which it happened. It is, however, highly improbable that Jewel should have had either time or money at his disposal for such an excursion, at any period during his residence at Oxford; but it is by no means very unlikely that he may have crossed the Alps for that purpose, at some time in the course of his connexion with Peter Martyr at Zurich. His former friend, Chambers, it must be remembered, was the treasurer and almoner of the benevolent Protestants while he was abroad, as he had been before in England. From him, therefore, Jewel may possibly have received some moderate portion of the contributions, although he was throughout principally supported by the generosity of Peter Martyr: and thus he may have been enabled to save a sum sufficient for the



gratification of his curiosity, and his love of letters, by a short visit to the famous university of Padua<sup>1</sup>.

While the wants of the banished Reformers were liberally provided for by the generosity of their continental brethren, their spirits were refreshed by the kindest sympathy, and supported by the most animating exhortation. From the first moment of their leaving England, the whole company of sufferers for the truth had been viewed with the warmest interest by the foreign churches. In June, 1544, a spirit-stirring letter had been addressed by Calvin to "his dear brethren, the pious and learned men, who, being now banished from England, are accomplishing themselves for the ministry of Christ, in the church of Zurich." In this epistle he fervently exhorts them to perseverance in those exercises and studies which would best fit them for the service of their Divine Master. "Banishment," he says, "is indeed a sorrowful thing; the calamity of your country, too, is bitter; but the consummation of your misery is the seemingly hopeless dispersion of the church of Christ. But the sons of God know themselves to be the inheritors of the earth. To them, therefore, banishment cannot, after all, be an intolerable evil; for the whole world is their home: or, at all events, it must be profitable for them to learn by experience, that they are strangers and pilgrims upon earth. England was lately the asylum of strangers; and then she had before her eyes, in the persons of those whom she harboured and protected, an image of the vicissitudes

<sup>1</sup> See Eccl. Biog. vol. iv. p. 34, 35. Strype, Ann. vol. i. p. ii. p. 59, &c. Oxf. Ed.

for which it became her children to prepare. It is no new thing, however, for Christ to reign, even on the cross; that, out of the disgraces of this world, he may win magnificent triumphs, both for himself, and for them that are his own. It is your's, therefore, to gather up your souls to a stedfast constancy, in this time of trial, and so to wait until He shall put forth his arm from heaven. For, most surely, he will look back upon his people, whose number is not small; and will curb the pride of their adversaries, who are now suffered to indulge their insolence to such excess, in order that their madness may not long be tolerable<sup>1</sup>."

Some months after this, Peter Martyr also had despatched a similar exhortation to "all the English who were gathered in holy society at Zurich<sup>2</sup>." The same blessed office of consolation and encouragement was constantly sustained by Jewel after his arrival on the Continent, and during the whole of his absence from England; and it occupied every interval which he could snatch from his literary engagements. The hardships and the sorrows of banishment were never suffered by him to interrupt the habits of studious application, or the active duties of Christian brotherhood. His days were devoted to learning with as much regularity as if he were reposing in the lettered ease of his own University; and his chief recreation was to strengthen the hearts of his fellow sufferers by

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this original letter, in Latin, is printed in Humphr. p. 91, 92. It is dated June 1554.

<sup>2</sup> For this letter also, see Humphr. p. 93. 95. Its date is 30 Sept.

seasonable words of admonition and of comfort. With them he appears to have been in almost perpetual correspondence. And if he heard that any among them were sinking under the afflictions of the time, or tortured, well nigh beyond endurance, by the pains of banishment, and were seeking relief by restless change of their condition,—he recalled them to the principles and motives by which he was himself supported under the common adversity. He represented to them the folly of rushing from the smoke into the flame. He reminded them that their calamity could not be too heavy to be borne; since it was laid upon them by Almighty God, to the very end that it might be patiently endured. He further admonished them that their fears and their complaints were altogether without excuse; for, while they were abroad, and, at least, in safety, their brethren in England were working, as it were, in the midst of the fire: they were exposed to insult and imprisonment, to famine and to torture. How then could those who had escaped from these horrors expect to fare deliciously, or to live at ease? And then he would add, by way of consolation, that their present miseries could not last an age<sup>1</sup>. And these words were so perpetually in his mouth that they acquired, at last, almost the force and authority of a solemn prediction. There seems, indeed, to have prevailed, not only in the mind of Jewel, but among the persecuted Protestants generally, and more especially among the exiles, a firm persuasion that the dominion of Popery would not be of long duration

Jewel's efforts  
to comfort the  
Protestants.

<sup>1</sup> “ Hæc non durabunt ætatem.”

in England. It has even been affirmed that this persuasion was once expressed by John Fox, the martyrologist, under circumstances which gave to his words the appearance of an inspired prophecy. For, if the relation be correct, he confidently told the banished men, in a sermon which he was preaching for their comfort, that "now was the time for their return to England; and that he brought them this order by commandment from God." The preacher was rebuked, at the time, for his presumption, by certain of his graver brethren. But their censures were speedily blunted by the event. For, on a subsequent comparison of times, it turned out that Queen Mary had died the very day before this presage had been uttered<sup>1</sup>. Without venturing to assert that any express revelation had been actually vouchsafed to the speaker of this sentence, we may at least rely on this incident as proving that a confident expectation of the approaching deliverance had got firm possession of the suffering Reformers. Their *faith* in the mercies of God was strong; and their *hope* of better days was, consequently, bright. And these great principles of Christian endurance may have been kept in active operation by the reports, which would frequently reach them, of the Queen's declining health, and of the disgust and indignation excited by the inhumanity of herself and her advisers. In fact, the ruling powers at home were labouring most effectively, though quite unconsciously, to accelerate the

<sup>1</sup> This has been related by John Fox, the son of the martyrologist, on the authority of Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, who was present at the delivery of this discourse by the martyrologist. See Eccl. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 35, note 2.

downfal of Popery, by rendering its dominion intolerable. It is not, therefore, altogether wonderful that these signs of the times should look cheerfully and pleasantly in the eyes of the persecuted, and shed many a gleam of sunshine upon the darkest and most cruel places of their fiery temptation.

It is truly piteous to think that all these holy consolations should ever have been overshadowed, even for a moment, by stormy contention among the Protestants themselves. But so, alas! it was. The demon of strife descended among the champions of peace and truth. The scenes of their banishment were converted into schools of angry controversy. In the first days of their exile, the brethren, for the most part, dwelled together in unity. But many of them had, unhappily, sought refuge in various places where the genius of Calvin was predominant; and there they gradually imbibed a fondness and an admiration for the mighty works of that Master Builder of the Tower of Confusion. From that moment all concord and harmony was at an end, among the exiled Protestants. The spirit of discord went forth from Geneva, and speedily shed its pernicious influence among the brethren at Frankfort. The English Liturgy was the first thing that suffered from the eruption. As early as 1554 the Reformers of Frankfort began to tamper with their Service-book; and it soon appeared that the beginnings of strife are as when one letteth out water. The proceedings of the malcontents were vehemently encouraged by John Knox, afterwards "the great incendiary of Scotland:" and the effect of his interference was, that, on the 15th of November,

Dissensions  
among the  
exiles.

1554, the men of Frankfort dispatched to them of Zuric an open and bitter defiance of the English formularies. The men of Zuric retorted, on the 28th of the same month; and, thenceforward, the debate became fierce and obstinate, and the breach well nigh incurable!

It was in vain that Grindal and Chambers were sent from Strasburgh, for the purpose of allaying these commotions. It was equally in vain that representations were subsequently forwarded, from the whole body of the English at Strasburgh, with the same pious and charitable object. These measures had no other effect, but to drive the innovators to an appeal to the almost Pontifical authority of Calvin. His decision, of course, was in favour of the dissentients; and they were thus confirmed in their bitter opposition to the English Ritual. In the following year (1555), some slight advantage was obtained over the Calvinistic party, by the exertions of Dr. Richard Cox; who arrived at Frankfort in March, and succeeded in driving Knox from the place, and re-establishing the Liturgy there. This success, however, was but transitory and insignificant. For, in the ensuing August, Knox and Goodman retired to Geneva, the metropolis of schism, and were followed thither by the main body of the separatists. Under the ministry of these two men, they utterly rejected the whole scheme of the English Reformation, as accomplished in the reign of Edward VI., and professed their entire conformity to the discipline of Geneva. It is well known with what disastrous effect their principles were afterwards imported into England.



At this period, Jewel was with Peter Martyr at Zurich: and it will easily be imagined that no efforts were spared by him to heal these miserable distractions, and to bring back the spirit of peace and unity to the suffering Church. He urgently besought the brethren to remember that they had still one powerful and inveterate enemy to contend against; that their strength must be dissipated, and their cause rendered contemptible, by disunion; and that, by their dissensions, they were doing the work of the Papacy almost as effectually as they would by open defection from the truth. He omitted no topic of exhortation or intreaty which might recall them to a sense of their infatuation. But alas! he was preaching to the tempest. The winds of discord had got loose; and it far exceeded all human power to command them back to their confinement. They continued to rage with unabated fury, and to render the Protestant cause, in the season of its adversity, a spectacle of sorrow to its most faithful followers, and of exultation to its most malignant persecutors.

Jewel endeavours to assuage the strife.

## CHAPTER IV.

1558—1560.

*Accession of Queen Elizabeth—Jewel's return to England—His letters to Peter Martyr on the State and Progress of the Reformation—Is appointed one of the Commissioners for a general Visitation of the Kingdom—Preaches at Court and at St. Paul's Cross—His account of the State of Religion—Effect of the Visitation—His views respecting Habits and Ceremonies—Jewel Bishop of Salisbury—Extracts from Peter Martyr's Correspondence.*

1558.  
Accession of  
Queen Eliza-  
beth.

THE 17th of November, 1558, was a memorable day in the history of the English Reformation : for on that day Elizabeth succeeded to the throne. The joyful intelligence flew rapidly to the continent, and soon put the banished Protestants in motion. Jewel, of course, did not remain long at Zurich after the arrival of the

1559.  
Jewel returns  
to England.

news. In January, 1559, we find him at Strasburgh on his way to England : for, on the 26th of that month, he wrote from thence a letter to Peter Martyr, informing him that many of the exiles had already returned, and that their appearance was notoriously most agreeable to the Queen ; that Bishoprics were likely soon to become cheap, as there were no less than fourteen



Sees vacant; that Dr. White had delivered a most insane and turbulent discourse, at the funeral of Queen Mary, in which he openly declared that every thing was to be attempted, rather than that any changes should be made in the state of religion; and that it would be a good deed to slay the banished Protestants, on their return: for which inflammatory language he was accused by the Marquess of Winchester, by the Lord Treasurer, and by Hethe, Archbishop of York. He adds that Boner had been compelled to restore to Ridley's executors the property which he had forcibly and injuriously seized; and that he was ordered to confine himself to his own house: that the Queen had not, as yet, made any decisive demonstration of her own religious views and purposes, but had forbidden either Papist or Gospeller to preach to the people. By some, this show of neutrality was ascribed to her care for the Protestant cause; the number of Papists in London being very formidable, while Bentham was the only "minister of the word" at that moment to be found there. By others it was surmised that silence was imposed by her, for the purpose of suppressing dissensions among the Reformers themselves: for it happened, most inauspiciously, that the only sermon which Bentham had been allowed to preach, was instantly followed by disputes and quarrels among the people, on the subject of religious ceremonies; and that, even at that early period, some declared themselves for Geneva, and others for Frankfort! "But, however this may be,"—he continues,—"I only wish that

His letters to Peter Martyr, on the state and progress of the Reformation.

our party may not deal with too much worldly prudence and policy in the cause of God<sup>1</sup>."

Jewel was more fortunate in his journey homeward than his venerable and honoured friend Parkhurst; who, being driven by his apprehensions of danger into more indirect, and, as he hoped, a safer road, fell among robbers; while Jewel found his way in safety, by a direct course, to England. On his arrival he found hospitable entertainment, for six months together, in the family of Nicolas Culverwell, a citizen of London. From the house of this worthy man he was suddenly called away by the illness of Lord Williams, who desired his presence, and with whom he was domesticated for some considerable time. In the month of March, 1559, he addressed another letter to Peter Martyr, announcing his safe arrival in his native country, after fifty-one days of painful and disastrous travelling, in which, as he complains, water, earth, and air, seemed to have been in league against him and his companions. He further states that the condition in which he found matters at home was far from realizing the anticipations which had cheered him on his journey. The Roman Pontiff was not then cast out. No part of the true religion was restored. The whole country was still polluted with the Mass. The pomp and insolence of the Bishops was unabated. At length, however, things were beginning to change: though the return to a

<sup>1</sup> His words are—"Quicquid est, utinam ne nostri homines nimium prudenter et *politice* versari velint in Causâ Dei."—Burnet, vol. iii. p. 263. Rec. ed. 1715.

better state was still miserably impeded by the Romish Prelates ; who, having no antagonists in the Upper House of Convocation, of sufficient ability and learning to expose their mendacity, held an undisputed dominion in the midst of ignorance and imbecility. The Queen, all this while, though manifestly well disposed towards the Protestants, was still somewhat controlled and overawed, partly by her own counsellors, and partly by the influence of the ambassador from Spain. In spite, however, of all discouragement and difficulty, she was steadily, though slowly and cautiously, following up her purpose ; and had, accordingly, appointed a disputation to be held at Westminster, with a view to a settlement of the main points in debate between the Romanists and the Reformers. On the part of the Protestants, the debate was to be maintained by Scory, Cox, Whitehead, Sandys, Grindall, Horne, Aylmer, Guest, and, lastly, Jewel himself. On the other side, were five bishops ; Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster ; Cole, Chedsey, and Harpsfield. The points to be discussed were,—first, whether prayers and sacraments should be in a foreign tongue ; secondly, the authority of provincial councils to establish, change, or abrogate, ecclesiastical ceremonies and rites ; thirdly, the Propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass. The Romish bishops were confident of success, and were beginning to triumph, as if the battle were already won. Having adverted to these matters, Jewel proceeds to give a miserable picture of the state of learning and religion at Oxford. Ignorance and obstinacy were in high predominance. Piety and good letters in a state of utter prostration. He

then adds some curious particulars, relative to certain notorious individuals of the Popish party. Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, who had sat in judgment on Cranmer—(infamous for an impure life, and a still fouler conscience)—exclaimed, shortly before his death, that he was condemned by his own judgment. Smyth,—the *renowned* antagonist of Martyr, the inflexible patron of chastity and celibacy,—had been detected in adultery; and for this offence had been compelled to retire from the theological chair. Bruern, for still grosser dissoluteness, had been driven from the Professorship of Hebrew. Of Marshal, Jewel would say nothing, lest he should thereby contaminate his paper. “And why,” he exclaims, “do I waste a word on such men? Purely that you may understand by what sort of persons it was thought fit that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, should be condemned<sup>1</sup>!”

About two months after this (namely, in May, 1559,) Jewel dispatched to his friend Bullinger, some further account of the religious proceedings and prospects in England; in which he expresses himself in a manner which indicates that his hopes continued to brighten, although there was still much difficulty to be encountered. His words are nearly as follow:—“At this time, we have to contend, not only with our adversaries, but with those of our own friends, who, of late years, have revolted from us, and joined our enemies, and who now oppose us with a bitterness and obstinacy beyond all ordinary hostility.

<sup>1</sup> This letter is dated 20th March, 1559. It is in Burnet, vol. iii. p. 267. Rec. 47.

And, what is infinitely more vexatious, we have to struggle against the remnants of the Spanish party ; that is, with those foulest of vices, pride, luxury, and licentiousness. Still, we have done, and are doing, what we can. May God prosper our efforts, and give them increase ! But at this moment, we live as men who seem scarcely to be returned from banishment. To mention nothing else,—no fragment of that which was their own, has yet been restored to our party. But, although this lingering expectation is painful, we doubt not that all will, shortly, be well. For we have a wise and religious Queen, who is propitiously disposed towards us. Religion has been restored to the same condition, in which it was left by Edward VI. ; an event, to which, I am persuaded, your own letters and exhortations, and those of your Republic, have powerfully contributed. The Queen is averse from being addressed as *Head of the Church of England*. She contends that this is a dignity which belongs only to Christ, and is unsuitable to any mortal being ; and, further, that all such titles have been so foully contaminated by Antichrist, that they can no longer be used by any pious Christian. Our Universities are so depressed and ruined, that there are scarcely two individuals at Oxford who think with us ; and even they are so dejected, and broken in spirit, that they can do nothing. So that the contemptible Friar, Soto, and a certain Spanish Monk, have torn up by the roots all that had been so prosperously planted by Peter Martyr, and have reduced the vineyard of the Lord to a wilderness. You could scarcely believe that such desolation could have been effected in so short a time. So that,

although I should be delighted to see *even a dog from Zurich*, in England, yet can I not recommend that you should, at this time, send your young men to us, for the purpose of literary, or religious education; unless you would receive them back no better than godless and ignorant barbarians<sup>1</sup>."

It is to be observed that this letter contains no notice whatever of the disputation with the Papists above alluded to, and the debates which followed it; both of which had then taken place. The reason of his silence is, however, obvious. He had already despatched to Peter Martyr an account of these important matters; and in the letter just cited he desires that whatever he had written to Martyr might be considered as addressed to Bullinger also. We here, accordingly, introduce his own animated description of these occurrences from his correspondence with Martyr; premising only, that the conference in question was held by order of the Privy Council, and in their presence. Respecting this discussion Jewel writes as follows<sup>2</sup>:—

"Accept a brief statement of our disputation with the Bishops, which had been fixed for the 1st of April. In the first place, in order that all cause of quarrel or idle debate might be removed, the Council decreed that every thing, on either side, should be read from written papers; and the times were so apportioned, that, on the first day, nothing should be

<sup>1</sup> For the whole of this letter, see Burnet, vol. iii. p. 269. Rec. 48. Its date is 22d March, 1559.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is dated 6th April, 1559. It is in Burnet, vol. iii. Rec. No. 49, p. 271, ed. 1715.



proposed by both parties but bare affirmations. At the next meeting we were to answer them, and they, in their turn, were to answer us. On the 31st of March, accordingly, we met at Westminster. The curiosity of the public was great; the crowd still greater. The Bishops, however, brought with them not a single line or letter upon paper, alleging that sufficient time had not been allowed them for thought and preparation; and this, notwithstanding they had ten days given them, and they had drawn together, in the interval all their auxiliary forces from Oxford, and from Cambridge, and from every other corner. In order, however, that such a concourse might not appear to have been altogether in vain, Dr. Cole, being suborned by the others, stepped forth to harangue, in the name of the rest, upon the first point in dispute; namely, the Services in a foreign tongue. He first assailed us in every form of contumely and invective, and stigmatised us as firebrands of discord and sedition, and turned himself towards every quarter of the assembly, with stamping of his feet, and tossing of his arms, and snapping of his fingers, and alternate elevation and depression of his eyebrows—you know the manner of the man. At last he came to this point,—that England had now received the Gospel more than thirteen hundred years: and from what writings, annals, or monuments (he asked) did it appear that public prayers were pronounced in the English tongue? Having for some time careered within this circle, he added gravely, with a most solemn countenance, and an admonitory tone, that all should lay this up in their minds, as one among the most precious sayings,—

that, from the beginning, the Apostles distributed their work among themselves; so that some should establish churches in the East, and others in the West: that, accordingly, Peter and Paul taught uniformly in the Latin tongue throughout the Roman Church, which comprehended the whole of Europe; and that the rest of the Apostles, in the East, used no other language but Greek! You may possibly laugh at all this. But I do protest that I never heard any one who raved after a more solemn and magisterial fashion. If our friend Julius<sup>1</sup> had been present, he would have cried out a hundred times over, '*Poh! whoreson knave!*' Nevertheless the speaker scrupled not to betray the very mysteries and recesses of his own religion. He affirmed gravely, and without doubt or hesitation, that, even if all other things should concur towards it, yet was it not expedient that the people should understand what was going on in the sacred services; for that ignorance is the mother of true piety, which he called devotion. O mystic and hidden rites of the *Bona Dea*! This it is to worship in spirit and in truth! But to proceed. When he had thus exhausted a great part of the time allotted to us for disputation, in calumny, abuse, and lying, we, at last, recited our arguments from written papers; with just so much moderation as might do justice to the subject, without wounding our adversary. At length this day's debate was so concluded that there was not an individual in the whole assembly—not even the Earl of Shrewsbury—who did

<sup>1</sup> Julius was a faithful and confidential domestic, or rather attendant, of P. Martyr.



not adjudge the victory to be with us. It was then settled that on the Monday following we should speak in the same manner respecting the second question; and that on the Tuesday we should reply to their first day's arguments, and they again to ours.

“ On the Monday a vast concourse assembled from all the Nobility, who were exceedingly anxious to hear the debate. But the Bishops—whether from shame at the defeat of the preceding day, or from utter despair of victory—first began to shuffle, and to allege that they had yet much to offer on the preceding question, and that the matter must not go off in this way. It was answered by the Council that, if they had anything further to say, they might be heard on the third day, as had been originally arranged; that, for the present, they must confine themselves to the matter immediately in question, and not disturb the order of the disputation. Being driven from their position, they still evaded; declaring that if they *must* needs speak, still they would not speak first; that they were in possession of the ground; and that we, if we chose, might try our strength in the first place: for that their cause would suffer grievous disadvantage if they were to suffer us to depart with the applause of the people, and to leave the stings of our address fresh in the ears of the audience. On the part of the Commissioners it was urged that it was settled, in the beginning, that they, being first in dignity, should be first to speak; and that this order could not now be changed: that it was surprising that there should be so much of mystery in the matter, seeing that, unless one of the two parties were to open, nothing could possibly be said by either:

and it was more especially wonderful, as Cole, in the first day's disputation, sprung forth to speak, although not called upon. After much time had been consumed in altercation, the Bishops still positively refusing to recede from the privilege of speaking in the second place, the assembly broke up without any disputation at all. But it is altogether incredible how much the whole affair has lowered the Bishops in the opinion of the people; for all began now to suspect that they declined speaking only because they had nothing to say. On the next day, your friend White, Bishop of Winchester, and Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, were committed to the Tower for their open contempt and contumacy. There they are now, employed in measuring out their encampment (*castrametation*); and, after feeble beginnings, conclude with a show of boldness. The rest are ordered to make their personal appearance from day to day in the Court, and to await the decision of the Council respecting them. I have described these matters more copiously than perhaps was needful, in order that you might have a distinct comprehension of the whole proceeding. And now farewell, my father, my pride, and the half of my own soul. If there should occur any further news, it shall be the subject of another communication <sup>1</sup>."

This abrupt termination of the dispute was deeply resented by the Court. On the dissolution of the assembly, the Lord Keeper said to the contumacious

<sup>1</sup> A full account of these disputations may be found in Strype's Annals, vol. i. part i. p. 129—137. It differs in no important particular from the briefer narrative of Jewel. See also Fox and Burnet, A. D. 1559.

parties, " You are not disposed that we should hear *you* ; perhaps, therefore, you may shortly hear of *us*.' And this threatening intimation was speedily realized in the manner adverted to in the above letter. The abrupt termination of the debate was, also, bitterly lamented by Jewel. He was beyond measure anxious that the religious dissensions should be finally set at rest by public and solemn discussion. And he afterwards declared from the pulpit, that " he could wish that, once again (as the time would serve), there might be had a quiet and sober disputation ; and that each party might be required to show their grounds, without self-will, and without affection ; not to maintain and breed contention (for he trusted that it should be the way to take away all contention), but only that the truth might be known, many consciences quieted, and the right stone tried by comparison of the counterfeit<sup>1</sup>."

In expressing this opinion, Jewel must, surely, rather have consulted the candour and integrity of his own nature, than his knowledge of history, or his experience of mankind. For, public disputations on religious matters, have seldom been found to terminate in any thing but an aggravation of the embroilment. In the present instance, however, although the debate produced neither conviction nor submission, it assuredly was attended with beneficial consequences to the party of the Reformers ; since it effected a disgraceful exposure of the weakness and bad faith of their Romish adversaries ; and, consequently, did much to loosen their hold upon the

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. pt. i. 138, Oxf. ed.

public mind. That it, nevertheless, utterly failed to correct the obstinacy and rashness of the Papists, is manifest from the subsequent conduct of the Bishops. "The cause of the Pontiff"—says Jewel, in another letter to Peter Martyr—"is still vehemently agitated among us. The Bishops are labouring, even to weariness, that they may not appear to have committed any mistake: and thus is the progress of religion impeded. It is extremely difficult to hasten its course. Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster (in order, I suppose, to exalt the authority of his own profession), in a speech delivered by him in the House of Lords, cast the Nazarites, the Prophets, nay, Jesus Christ himself, and his Apostles, all into the order of Monks! No one opposes our cause more keenly than the Bishop of Ely (Thirlby), who retains his place in the House of Peers, and, together with it, his original disposition. The lands of the Bishops"—he adds—"will be made over to the Exchequer, and the Rectories which belonged to the Monasteries, will be given in exchange for them. In the mean time, there is a profound silence on the subject of schools, or the care of literature. The Queen both speaks and thinks most honourably of you. She told the Lord Russel that she would willingly invite you hither; a measure which is strongly urged both by him and others. But I will never recommend your coming, unless your recal should be pressed most seriously and earnestly, and in a manner signally honourable to yourself. For myself, indeed, there is nothing which I desire with such aching impatience as to behold you, and to enjoy once more your delightful conver-

sation ; which I heartily wish may, one day, happen, whether it be in England, or in Zurich. At present, however,—unhappily for my desires,—our Queen is thinking of the league of Smalkald : and there is one who writes to her from Germany that this league can never be brought about, if you should return hither. Who this person is, you will probably know better than I, when I tell you, that he was once a Bishop,—that he is now an exile,—that he is a knave,—(*veteratorem*),—that he is a courtier,—that he is either Peter or Paul<sup>1</sup>. But however this may be, we have exhibited to her all our Articles of Religion and Doctrine ; and in no tittle have we departed from the Confession of Zurich. As yet, no provision whatever has been made for us. And, therefore, I do not yet lay aside the device, which I framed for myself at Zurich, namely, a Book and the Cross!—Your books are not yet arrived. Whenever this gift shall come, I doubt not that it will be most acceptable to the Queen. And, as such is your desire, I will not decline to set forth its value in my own words, although the work will bring its own commendation with it. For the book which you have sent to me, personally, I know not in what words to express my thanks. I am, therefore, quite willing to sink under the weight of your present kindness, and of all my former obligations to your friendship. And, although I shall never dismiss

<sup>1</sup> Who was the person here alluded to, is uncertain. Burnet observes that it must have been either Barlow, Scory, or Coverdale ; for they were the only Bishops of the Reformation then living. And he adds that Coverdale, as being by birth a Dane, was most likely to be addicted to the *Lutheran* opinions.

you from my thoughts, yet I cannot but feel excited by this additional memorial, to a still deeper veneration for your name. All your former writings have been, long since, taken up by the booksellers, and most eagerly purchased. For all the world is anxious to look upon the *hunting-spears*, by which *the Beast* has been pierced<sup>1</sup>." It appears from another of Jewel's letters, that the tardiness and caution of the Queen's proceedings was a sore trial to his patience. He there laments the want of zeal and industry in promoting the Reformation. "In the time of Mary," he says, "every thing was carried impetuously forward. There was no waiting for law, or precedent. But now, every thing is managed with as much slowness and wariness, as if the Word of God was not to be received on his own authority. As Christ was *thrown out* by his enemies, so is he now *kept out* by his friends. The consequence is, that they who favour us are grievously discouraged, while our adversaries are still full of hope and exultation." He acknowledges, however, that "the Mass was, in many places, discontinued, although no law was yet passed for its abrogation. The nobility, too, seemed to be cordial in their hatred of Popery. The Queen herself, indeed, still retained the Mass in her own chapel, but had divested it of many offensive circumstances. It was, however, much to be desired that she would put away the Crucifix. She was truly pious; but she thought it necessary to proceed according to law, and to decline

<sup>1</sup> This letter is dated 28th April, 1559. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 273, Rec. 50.



compliance with the impulses of a furious multitude<sup>1</sup>." At this day, we can all perceive that the Queen was unquestionably right. In the existing state of things, nothing could have been more unwise, than a precipitate course of proceeding. The strength and the stability of the Reformation would mainly depend on the appearance of grave and anxious deliberation with which it was carried on. All might have been lost, or at least, fearfully endangered, by the violent counsels recommended by the more impatient of the Reformers.

From a subsequent letter to Martyr it Feb. 20. would appear that the prospect was beginning gradually to brighten, though there was still cause for anxiety and dejection: "What, after all, can I write to you? We are here still as strangers to our homes. You will say, then, return to Zurich. Most cordially, my father, do I wish that this were possible. For, so far as I can see, there is no hope that you will ever come to England. O Zurich, Zurich, how much oftener do I now think of thee, than I ever thought of England, when I was at Zurich! Respecting religion, thus much has been accomplished, (I hope with happy auspices,) that it should be restored to the same condition in which it was during the latest period of your residence among us, under Edward. Still I cannot perceive that there is, among our friends, the same alacrity that there was among the Papists. So miserably is it ordered, that

<sup>1</sup> These extracts are given by Burnet; but he does not tell us where the letter itself is to be found. He assigns to it the date of the 10th of April, 1559; and yet places it *after* the letter of the 28th of April. Vol. iii. p. 276. Ed. 1715.

Falsehood is armed, while Truth is unarmed, and, what is worse, frequently odious. The scenic apparatus of worship is now under agitation. Those very things which you and I have often laughed at, are now seriously thought of by certain persons—(for *we* are not consulted);—as if the Christian religion could not exist without patchwork. Our minds are not sufficiently at leisure, to make much of such follies. Others are seeking a *golden*, or as it rather seems to me, a *lead*en mediocrity. And these cry out that the half is better than the whole. Certain of our party are marked out for Bishops; Parker for Canterbury, Cox for Norwich, Barlow for Chichester, Scory for Hereford, Grindall for London, (for Boner has been ordered to retire). When they will take possession, I know not. From this flowering, I can easily divine what the vintage will be. Our enemies, in the mean time, promise themselves that these things cannot last. In Scotland, we hear that there have been tumults on account of religion; that the nobles have occupied the monasteries from which the monks have been ejected; that some French garrison soldiers have been slain in the tumult; and that the Queen was so incensed, as to proclaim the banishment of the preacher Knox by blast of horn, according to the Scottish custom. What has become of him I know not. There is now a Commission ordered for the whole of England, with a view to the establishment of religion. Sandys goes to Lancaster; I to Devonshire; others to other parts. The Queen will not be entitled the Head of the Church: at which I certainly am not much displeased. In the mean while, what ‘*the hangman of*



*the Church*<sup>1</sup> may think, or murmur, or what trouble he may give us, you who are nearer, can more easily hear. Our Papists resist most spitefully; and none with more contumacy than those who have abandoned us. This it is, to have once tasted of the mass! He who drinks of it, is mad. Fly from it all ye who have any care for your soul's health<sup>2</sup>!"

From this letter it is evident that Jewel was still in painful suspense and trepidation; and was fearful lest too much of the pomp and finery of the Romish worship should be preserved. On the first of August in the same year, 1559, he despatched further intelligence to his friend at Zurich, in a tone of greater hopefulness and animation. The Parliament had been dissolved in the May preceding: and by one of its Acts, the general Visitation, to which he alludes above, had been ordered for all the dioceses throughout the country. Commissioners had, accordingly, been appointed by the Queen, and armed with authority to rectify all such abuses, as could not be corrected by the ordinary jurisdiction of the Bishops, without a greater loss of time than the exigencies of the Church would allow. The inquiry was to be made on oath by the Commissioners; and Jewel was among the number of those appointed for the Western Division of England. Immediately before the commencement of his labours, he wrote to Martyr as follows:—"I have now one foot on the ground, and the

1559.

Jewel is appointed one of the Commissioners for a general Visitation.

<sup>1</sup> *Il Cavezzo di Chiesa*. Does he mean the Pope?

<sup>2</sup> This letter is without a date. It is printed by Burnet, (vol. iii. Rec. 52. p. 276.) after that which here follows: but was evidently written before it.

other nearly on my horse's back. For I am, speedily, to enter on a long and arduous legation, for the settlement of religion, through Reading, Abingdon, Gloucester, Bristol, Bath, Wells, Exeter, Cornwall, Dorset, Salisbury. The compass of my journey will be about seven hundred miles. So that I apprehend it must be full four months before we can return. Wherefore, lest in the interval you should suppose me dead, I now send you this greeting, nearly at the very moment of setting out.—Our affairs are now in a sufficiently prosperous course. The Queen is admirably well-disposed; the people every where thirsting after religion. The Bishops are willing to submit to every thing, rather than relinquish the Pope, *whom they have, before, so frequently abjured*. Neither do they thus for the sake of religion, of which they have none; but purely for the sake of their *consistency*, or, as the miserable knaves will have it, their *conscience*. Now that religion is every where changed, the priests absent themselves altogether from public worship, as if it were an impiety to have any thing in common with the people of God. The madness of these rogues is such as cannot be exceeded. In spite of every thing, they still hope; and they still foretel. They are, as you well know, a race of men fond, to excess, of predictions; and hugely addicted to *futuritions*, that these things cannot last. But let what will happen, we render thanks to Almighty God, that our affairs are in their present condition.—In Scotland, every thing is in a ferment. Knox, surrounded by a numerous throng of satellites, is holding conventions throughout the whole kingdom. The old Queen has been compelled to shut

herself up in garrison. The nobility, with a union of hearts and hands, are restoring religion every where, in defiance of opposition. In all parts, the monasteries are levelled with the ground. The theatrical dresses, the sacrilegious chalices, the images, the altars,—all are consigned to the flames. Not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left. We have all heard of *drinking like a Scythian*. But this is to *church it like a Scythian*<sup>1</sup>!—Certain of our friends are designated for Bishoprics. Cox for Ely, Scory for Hereford, Alan for Rochester, Grindall for London, Barlow for Chichester, and I, the very least of the Apostles, for Salisbury. *This burden I have positively resolved to shake off*. In the mean time, there is still a dismal solitude in our Universities. The young men fly in all directions, rather than agree in the present state of religion.—But my companions are waiting for me; and crying out for me to start. Farewell, therefore, &c. &c.<sup>2</sup>”

This letter is, in one respect, singularly instructive. We have seen that, when Jewel was in exile, he might truly be called the *prisoner of hope*. He was constantly uttering predictions of the downfall of Popery in England. “These things cannot last an age,” were the words incessantly upon his lips. His prophecies are fulfilled; and it is now the lot of the Romish party, in their turn, to live upon the expectation of better times. And what says Jewel, when he hears from them precisely the same language with which he had comforted himself and his companions in adversity? Truly, they are no better than a feeble

<sup>1</sup> Σκυθιστὶ πιεῖν—Σκυθιστὶ ἐκκλησιάζειν.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, vol. iii. p. 275. Rec. 51.

folk, a half-witted race, marvellously given to predictions and *futuritions*; and willing to live upon the hope of another change! It may be true that the instability of their former professions may have cast a shade of suspicion over the sincerity of many among the leading Romanists: but, surely, it would have better become a man like Jewel to remember the darkness which had passed over his own head, and to speak with more charity and moderation of his adversaries, when their season of depression came.

Among the expedients adopted to prepare the public mind for the restoration of religion and the utter rejection of the Papal power, was a careful selection of preachers. None were allowed to occupy the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, but men of eminent ability and learning; such as were afterwards promoted to the Episcopal Bench, or advanced to distinguished preferments in the Church. Of course

Jewel was not omitted. His first sermon there was on the 18th of June in this year<sup>1</sup>. The 24th of the same month, being the festival of St. John the Baptist, was memorable for the abandonment of the Latin Mass-book, and the final re-establishment of the English Liturgy; a measure unspeakably acceptable to the Protestants of England, with the exception of some few who were stubbornly devoted to the discipline of Geneva<sup>2</sup>. On the 26th of November fol-

Jewel preaches  
at Court and at  
St. Paul's Cross.

<sup>1</sup> Strype's Annals, vol. i. part i. p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> The effect of this day's proceedings is indicated by a rhyme written in the Diary of one Earl, a London clergyman:

St. John the Baptist's day

Put the Pope away.—Strype, *ib.* p. 201.

lowing, a short time after his return from the visitation, Jewel again took the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross; and such was, at that time, the attraction of his name, that a more crowded congregation was never witnessed in the same place. And it may here be mentioned, by anticipation, as further indicating the growth of his fame, that towards the end of this year he was selected to preach the funeral sermon at the interment of the Duchess of Suffolk; who was buried at Westminster Abbey on the 5th of December. It is almost needless to add that his discourse fully justified his high reputation<sup>1</sup>.

The official journey of Jewel to the western parts, as might have been expected, was a continued progress of kindness, of patience, and of laborious ministration, such as was fitted to win all hearts to the cause of Scriptural Christianity<sup>2</sup>. Some description of the state in which he found the national religion is given by himself in a letter to Peter Martyr, dated November 2d, 1559. "At last," he says, "I have returned to London, worn and harassed by painful journeying. You possibly have thought me dead, because I have not written. I, in the meanwhile, was kept away for three whole months by the duties of this arduous commission. . . . And what, you will ask, has been done, after all? Receive then, in a single word, the result of much laborious inquiry. We found every where the minds of the multitude sufficiently well disposed to the true religion; and this, too, where

Jewel's account  
of the state of  
religion.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. part i. p. 292, 293. Oxf. ed.

<sup>2</sup> Humphr. p. 108.

the greatest difficulty was expected. Nevertheless, it is scarcely to be believed what a harvest, or rather what a wilderness, of superstition, had sprung up in the time of the Marian darkness. We found every where votive reliques of Saints, nails with which the infatuated people dreamed that Christ had been pierced, and certain minute fragments of the sacred cross. The number of sorceresses and witches, in all quarters, was enormous. The cathedral churches had become dens of robbers, or worse, if anything more foul and iniquitous could be named. If there was any instance of inveterate obstinacy, it was found among the priests; those, more especially, who, for a time, had stood forward on our side. They, as I suppose, in order that they may not be thought to have changed their opinions inconsiderately, are now confounding every thing. But let them make what disturbance they may; we, in the meantime, have thrust them out from their degree and ministry. Harding, the constant man! has chosen to change his condition rather than his sentiments. Sidal, too, has subscribed, with equal *constancy*,—that is, grievously against his will. But your friend Smyth, you will ask, what has he done? Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? Believe me, that he might retain his old *consistency*, he has now, at last, recanted, for the fifth time! This silly personage, when he found the religion changed, changed his own habit, and had prepared for flight to Scotland. But while he was hovering on the borders, he was seized and brought back. And now, this grave and stedfast man, this column and leader of the faith, has come over to us, has deserted his own party, and is become the most



furious adversary of the Papists. The ranks of the Papists have fallen almost without a blow. O, if we had but sufficient help, there might yet be good hopes of religion. But it is a weary work to drag the chariot without horses, especially up hill. Yesterday, on my return to London, I heard from the Archbishop of Canterbury that you are invited hither; and that your former lectureship is kept open for you. Thus much I can affirm—that no one has yet been elected to the chair at Oxford. Most ardently, my father, do I desire to see you in England. And how should this be otherwise, since I am perpetually longing to see you even at Zurich? But I well know your prudence. You are well acquainted with the character and disposition of us islanders. I pray that what is now begun may be the commencement of good. But nothing can be more desperate than the present condition of our *School*. You will think, if ever you should be there again, that you have well nigh thrown away all your pains. For, in the midst of your flourishing harvest field, you will find nothing but rank and worthless weeds. Your book concerning Vows, like all your works, is most greedily seized upon. We are now anxiously looking for your further Commentaries on the Book of Judges, and the Two Books of Samuel. The Prince of Sweden, and Charles, the son of Ferdinand, are courting at a most marvellous rate. The Swede, more especially, promiseth mountains of silver, if he should succeed. The Queen, probably, is thinking of an alliance nearer home. From Scotland we hear nothing that can be new to you. The Gospel is taught there; the

Churches are assiduously brought together ; and all the monuments of the old superstition are demolished. Nevertheless the French still hope that they may retain both the kingdom, and their religion<sup>1</sup>."

Effect of the  
Visitation.

There can be no doubt that the Visitation did much towards the recovery of the realm from the state of ignorance and confusion above adverted to by Jewel. The labours of himself and his colleagues in the Commission were eminently serviceable in the establishment of sound religious practices and opinions. Of the whole body of the Clergy—prelates, dignitaries, and incumbents—only one hundred and eighty-nine refused compliance with the Reformation. With this exception, all gave in their subscription to a declaration, by which they consented to an abolition of foreign jurisdiction, either in temporal or spiritual matters ; to the restoration of the Crown of England to its rightful supremacy ; and to the administration of the Sacraments, and the order of Divine Service, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer<sup>2</sup>. The progress towards a peaceable settlement, however, even at that early period of the Queen's reign, was much embarrassed by the scruples, which certain of the most distinguished Reformers had brought with them from the Continent, touching the lawfulness of clerical habits and religious ceremonies. That Jewel himself was then considerably infected with this fastidious aversion for the decent solemnities of

Jewel's views  
respecting the  
habits and ce-  
remonies.

<sup>1</sup> The whole letter is in Burnet, vol. iii. Rec. 56, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. part i. p. 255.



public worship, is beyond all question. He had confessed to Bullinger that, for his part, he wished that the very slightest footsteps of Popery might be taken away, both out of the Church, and out of the minds of men<sup>1</sup>. We have further seen how contemptuously he wrote to Peter Martyr respecting the remaining shreds and patches of the Romish Church; and how bitterly he regretted that the thoughts of the Reformers should be wasted on such trifles: and, at this time, we find him avowing to his correspondent, his scorn for the remnants of superstitious folly which were still to be preserved in the habiliments of the Clergy.

“As to what you write,” he says, “respecting religion and the theatrical habits, O, how I wish that we could obtain our purpose! We have not been wanting to this good cause. But they who take delight in such matters have followed, as I believe, the ignorance of the priests; whom they were willing to commend to the people by a *comic dress*, finding the men to be no better than stocks, and destitute of wit, learning, or manners. For—gracious heaven!—all care for the encouragement of good letters, and for the supply of learned men, is utterly abandoned in these times. And, accordingly, since the true means of possessing the public mind cannot be had, the eyes of the people must be occupied with these ridiculous absurdities. As you very justly write, *these are the remnants of the Amorites!* For, who can deny this? I heartily wish that such follies could be plucked up by the roots, and utterly extir-

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. part i.

pated. Neither our voice nor our exertions shall be wanting to effect this object<sup>1</sup>."

It is melancholy to observe a mind like that of Jewel, in bondage to these wretched apprehensions, on account of decent ritual solemnities, and a becoming clerical costume. But, strange as it may seem to us, the same terrors were, at that time, laying waste the common sense of many a zealous and eminent divine. In addition to Jewel, there were then numbered among the alarmists, Cox, Grindall, Horne, Sandys, Parkhurst, Bentham; all of whom, previously to entering on their respective ministries, spared no exertions to accomplish the complete exclusion both of ceremonies and habits. It appears that these men, and many others in that age, were living in a constant agony of fear, lest Popery should be lurking beneath the surplice and the square cap. They seemed to consider every remnant of the ancient forms and observances as a sort of palladium of superstition, which it would be necessary to remove, before the citadel of the true religion could be safe. In their judgment, no ceremony or usage could possibly be innocent, if it bore the slightest resemblance to the practices of Rome. A disposition to tolerate any one custom which had prevailed in a corrupt church, appeared to them like an indication of perfidy towards the Reformed Faith; or, at least, of culpable insensibility to the perils of the time. One of their favourite positions was, that *evils must be cured by contraries*; a maxim most indisputable, if properly

. <sup>1</sup> See Burnet, vol. iii. Rec. 57, p. 290. The date of this letter is Nov. 5, 1559.

understood, and most salutary, if judiciously applied. But they, unhappily, forgot that a sudden passage from one extreme to its opposite is sometimes almost as injurious to the patient, as the malady which threatens his life ; and that “ he that will take away extreme heat, by setting the body in extremity of cold, shall undoubtedly remove the *disease*, but, together with it, the *diseased* too<sup>1</sup>.’ It would be tedious and unprofitable to produce all the arguments by which the infatuation of these venerable worthies might be exposed. It is easy enough for us, at this day, to perceive that their terrors were altogether groundless : and, we have great reason to be thankful that the Queen and the Parliament perceived it also. They, very fortunately, were wiser than many of their teachers ; and determined that the Christian religion should not be exhibited to the people under a mean and sordid aspect. Fortunately, too, the Churchmen, after much deep and scrupulous consultation, resolved that they were not bound, at this critical period, to desert their offices, on account of what they deemed to be certain questionable appendages to it, involving, however, no unworthy compromise of any essential truth. And they were confirmed in this view of the matter, by the recollection, that their compliance would have one good effect at least ;—it would enable them to occupy positions in the Church, which might otherwise be filled by Lutherans, whose doctrine and discipline were, in some respects, essentially at variance with those of the Church of England,—or, by persons who were

<sup>1</sup> Hooker, B. iv. s. 8.

Papists at heart, and who, consequently, were sworn enemies of the whole Protestant establishment<sup>1</sup>.

Of the existing causes of affliction and dismay, there was one which, above all others, seems to have disturbed the peace of these devoted and pious men : the Queen persisted inflexibly in the use of the crucifix. That symbol of Romish idolatry was still to be seen in the royal chapel. And, so long as it remained there, Popery, it was thought, would have a conspicuous rallying point in the realm of England. The commotion of spirit, which this outward and visible sign of superstition inflicted upon Jewel, is manifested in a letter addressed by him to Martyr, a few days subsequently to the last. "Religion," he says to his friend, "is in the same state which I have so often described before. The doctrine is every where pure and undefiled : but still there is too much foclery, in matters of *masking* and of *mummery*. That miserable little cross of silver, of inauspicious origin, still maintains its position in the chapel of our princess. Wretch that I am!—The thing is of most ruinous example. At one time, there was good hope that it would be pulled down. We none of us spared any pains that it might be so. But, so far as I can discover, the matter is now hopeless. Such is the stubbornness of some minds. It seems to me that there is too much of prudence—too much of occult wisdom—in the management of our affairs. What is to be the effect, God alone can see. The slow-paced horses keep back the chariot. Cecil is ardently in favour of our cause. The Bishops as yet are only designated

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. p. i. pp. 263, 264.

for promotion. In the mean time their estates gloriously swell the Royal Exchequer! Our University is in miserable depression and confusion,—without piety, without religion, without hope of learning . . . I can very truly affirm that there is no man living to whom the sight of you here would be more welcome, than to myself. And yet, as our affairs are fluctuating, unstable, and, in one word, *insular*, I would much rather hear of you absent, and in safety, than see you present among us, and in danger<sup>1</sup>.”

In the month of February following, 1560, appearances were not at all more promising. “This contemptible controversy,” he writes, “concerning the crucifix is now raging. You would scarcely believe the insanity of certain individuals, who once had some show of common sense! Among these, however, there is no one, except Cox, who is known to you. To-morrow there will be held a disputation on this subject. The moderators will be persons selected by the council. The disputants on the one side, will be the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cox; on the other, Grindall and myself. I cannot but laugh, whenever I reflect, with what grave and substantial reasons they will defend their wretched little cross!—So far as I can divine, I shall not hereafter write to you as a Bishop. For matters are now come to that pass, that crosses of tin or silver must be restored, or the Bishoprics relinquished<sup>2</sup>.”

It appears from the above extract that Jewel was,

<sup>1</sup> This letter is dated November 16, 1559. See Burnet, *Ibid.* Rec. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Jewel to Martyr, Feb. 4, 1560. Burn. Ib. Rec. No. 60.

at this time, Bishop of Salisbury. We find, from his former letters, that he was among the learned men marked out for advancement in the church; but that he cordially deprecated the promotion, and had well nigh resolved upon declining it altogether. He was, however, unwilling to resist the urgent wishes and commands of the Queen; and was, accordingly, consecrated by Archbishop Parker on the 21st of January, 1560, together with Young to the See of St. David's, Bolingham to Lincoln, Davis to St. Asaph, and Ghest to Rochester<sup>1</sup>. But the sight of the crucifix in the Queen's chapel—the apprehension that this remnant of superstition would be permanently fixed upon the Church of England—the still doubtful stability of the Reformation, in some other respects—all these things were against him. The crosier was very uneasy in his grasp: and he was evidently prepared to cast it away, if it could not be retained without a sacrifice of his honest convictions.

Extracts from  
Peter Martyr's  
correspond-  
ence.

For the purpose of illustrating the opinions of Jewel's principal correspondent, P. Martyr, relative to the matters at this period in dispute, it may be advisable to introduce here some extracts from letters written by him about the same time, "*to a friend in England*," which friend, there seems good reason, from their tenor, for believing to have been no other than Jewel himself. They will be found of some importance, as manifesting the temper and moderation with which the disputed points were weighed

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. p. i. p. 232.



by the divines abroad, when compared with the virulence and stubbornness which, shortly afterwards, disgraced the Non-conforming faction at home. The first of those letters is dated from Zurich, November 4, 1559. After a sentence or two, explanatory of apparent delay in writing, Martyr proceeds thus:—“ Respecting impropriations, it does not seem to me that you need to trouble yourself. It is no business of yours, from what source, or in what manner it may be the Queen’s pleasure that the Bishops or the Parochial Clergy should derive their maintenance. If they should appear to be left in indigence, you may pray or intercede for them: or, if you, yourselves, should abound, you may then minister to their necessities out of your abundance. With regard to wearing the cap, whether square or round, when not engaged in sacred ministrations, we think there can be no need for unseemly contention. For this is a point in which superstition does not appear to have any proper place. As to the clerical habits, it is the opinion of Bullinger, that they ought not to be used in the sacred offices, since they exhibit the appearance of the Mass, and are mere reliques of Popery; and so, your example may give a sanction to things which are a scandal and an offence. For myself—I have ever been an enemy to decorations of this sort. Nevertheless, I have always dreaded the danger of your abdicating the office of preaching: and moreover, I have not been without hope, that, like the Altars and the Images, these things might, in time, be removed, *if you, and the rest of the Bishops*, should make a determined effort for that purpose. And this object, I have thought, would be less likely

to be accomplished, if some other were to succeed to your place, who might be careless about these remnants, or rather, might be disposed to vindicate and cherish them. For these reasons, I have been more slow to persuade that you should decline the Bishopric, than that you should acquiesce in the use of these habiliments. At the same time,—because I have always felt that such scandals ought to be avoided, I have the more easily come in to Bullinger's opinion. But, if Altars and Images are to be preserved, I, of my own mind, am satisfied that the sacred offices ought not, on any account, to be performed. When I, myself, was at Oxford, I never would use those habits in the Choir; and, although I was then a Canon, I was satisfied of the propriety of my practice in that particular. On the whole, my counsel to you is, that you, who are now in the very arena of this contest, should determine for yourself."

On the 1st of February, 1560 (seven days after Jewel had been consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, but before Martyr could well have been apprized of his actual consecration, though he was aware of his designation for the office,) the latter wrote again to *his friend*, in answer to certain questions relative to matters of the same kind. "In the first place," he says, "I exhort you not to withdraw yourself from your function, on account of the paucity of Ministers. For if you, who are, as it were, the pillars of the Church, should shrink from Ecclesiastical offices, the consequence would be, that the Church would be left wholly destitute of Pastors, and you would give place to wolves, and Antichrists. Should you stand



aloof from public stations in the Church, you will never be able to amend things which are offensive; nay, you will scarcely be able to retain what has already been conceded. Whereas, if you sit at the helm of the Church, there is good hope that much, if not every thing, may be corrected. You tell me that the lands of the Church have been taken away. But then, you may recollect that you are not the persons guilty of the alienation. The thing has been done without your consent. You, therefore, stand free from all blame. But whence, then, is any stipend to be obtained for the Parochial Minister? Are they to be supported by the Bishops? Here there is an occasion for manifesting trust in God; who will open a way, and provide resources for their maintenance. He feeds the birds of the air, and clothes the lilies of the field: neither does he ever desert any one who is walking in the path of his vocation. Care must be taken that you be not deemed, by those who seek occasions, to have an eye to worldly commodity and wealth. I apprehend that there need not be much dispute respecting the square cap, and the episcopal habit: for the thing involves no superstition; and, in your country, there may be political reasons for it.' Respecting the apparel which they call sacred, I confess the question is somewhat harder. It has given me some disturbance; and I am surprised that it should be so tenaciously insisted on. I could wish that every thing might be ordered with the greatest possible simplicity . . . . . You might, however, use these garments either in preaching, or in administering the Lord's Supper; but so, that you go on to speak and

teach against the practice. But I would never advise that, in either case, you should have a crucifix upon the table. Concerning the correction of Papists, with respect to the past, you should remember that it has more than once been suspended for the sake of peace, and that sometimes an amnesty has been proclaimed in the Church, and heretics received, with all their privileges and honours, provided they would subscribe to sound doctrine. It must be your care that, for the future, they maintain nothing which is repugnant to the received faith. They who are presented to you by their patrons for institution, ought not to be admitted, unless they will subscribe to the prevalent religion. If they refuse, I hold that you are at liberty to reject them. As to unleavened bread, you know that none of our churches make it a matter of contention; nay, all of them use it. You write, that many are offended with the episcopal dress. This I can well believe. But you will avoid all blame, if, in your Sermons, you show that you are, yourselves, dissatisfied with it, and make every effort for its eventual disuse. With regard to the perambulations, in Rogation Week, which seem to have been derived from similar heathen usages, I scarcely know what advice to give. All superstition is to be avoided in the matter. Still, if on those occasions, God should be intreated that he would vouchsafe, in his mercy, the fruits of the earth, and the enjoyment of them, and thanksgiving should be offered for the bounties of the past year, there will be a sufficient avoidance of superstition. Nevertheless, both magistrates and people should be taught and admonished against the custom; and every

exertion should be made that such things should be exploded, like '*the remnants of the Amorites.*' "

Once more, on the 20th March, 1560, he recurs to this hedge of thorns; and writes thus,—“ The things which you fear, we cannot avert from you, otherwise than by our prayers, which, you may believe, we shall offer up continually. But to come to your last question, I do not reckon the crucifix, placed on the holy table at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, to be among things *indifferent*. You, however, who are in the midst of the contest, must not look to us for advice. We are at a great distance from the arena, in which you are holding your deliberations. Your vocation is not to be rashly abandoned; neither is it to be undertaken with manifest injury to the truth. The sum of the matter is, that the worship of images is, on no account, to be tolerated. Both Bullinger and myself hold these to be among things prohibited. Unless you are driven to these practices, do not refuse the ministry which is offered to you<sup>1</sup>. ”

We have here the counsels of a man whose prepossessions were, obviously, in favour of what he imagined to be the primitive simplicity of Christian worship; whose conscience, or (if we may so express it), whose religious taste, revolted against every thing which savoured, however slightly, of Papal corruption; but who, nevertheless, abstains from any incendiary suggestions, by which the peace of our

<sup>1</sup> The three letters from which the above are extracts, are in Pet. Mart. Epist. Theolog. p. 790, 791. Ed. 1623. They are addressed *Amico Cuidam, in Angliam*.

Church might be endangered. Images and crucifixes are to be sternly put away. Habits, and ceremonies, and customs, to be thoroughly reformed, *if practicable*. But, at all events, there must be no violent opposition to authority<sup>1</sup>; no hasty or petulant rejection of office; no abandonment of the ministry on account of unessential matters; nothing, in short, which could expose the cause of truth to the perils of unseemly and uncharitable strife. Who can believe that, if Martyr had been finally settled and naturalized in England, he would ever have joined the faction which tore the Church in pieces, and scattered the deadly seeds of anarchy and confusion? And who can forbear to wish that a double portion of his spirit had fallen upon the men, who achieved the bad eminence of heading the insurrection?

<sup>1</sup> It must be confessed that there was something rather alarming in the recommendation of P. Martyr, that the scrupulous divines should wear the habits, but never cease to preach against them. But even this advice was far less inflammatory and virulent than the open declarations of some among our ministers at home; namely, that, whenever they preached or prayed publicly in the hateful array, they did as much as in them lay, to cast away the souls of the weak-minded, and to bring them to endless perdition; although their prayer to Almighty God was, that the poison thus offered, might have no power to do harm! Which, as Hooker afterwards remarked, was as if a man should "profess that he putteth fire to his neighbour's house, but yet so halloweth the same with prayer, that he hopeth it shall not burn."—Book v. s. 29.

## CHAPTER V.

1560—1563.

*Impoverished condition of the Bishoprics—Jewel's challenge to the Papists—Letters between Cole and Jewel—Jewel's judgment respecting Marriage with two Sisters—His Apology for the Church of England—Peter Martyr's Letter to Jewel on his Apology—Termination of the Council of Trent in 1563—Letter of Scipio to Jewel—Jewel's Answer—Death of Peter Martyr—Simler's Oration, together with an Image of Martyr in silver, presented to Jewel—His acknowledgment—Brief notice of the Ubiquitarian question.*

THE extracts given, in the last chapter, 1560.  
from the correspondence of Jewel with  
Peter Martyr, powerfully illustrate the difficulties  
with which, even then, the Reformation was beset,  
and the anxiety with which those difficulties were  
contemplated by the most faithful champions of the  
Protestant Church of England. They likewise  
furnish us with some insight into the mind and cha-  
racter of Jewel himself. It is tolerably evident that  
his residence among the Swiss churches had imparted  
a tone of austerity to his notions respecting the ex-  
terior of religion. Had the regulation of Ecclesias-  
tical matters been *then* left to him, and to men whose  
views were similar to his own, it is not improbable that  
our public worship might have lost some portion of the

outward *beauty of holiness*. It will further have been remarked, that his own impressions, relative to such matters, are occasionally conveyed to his correspondent in the language of asperity and contempt; and that the cross in the Queen's chapel almost threw him into despair. We have already observed that it may be difficult for us, at the present day, to realise to our own thoughts, the alarms of those faithful servants of God, who were then labouring for the effectual restoration of our Church. Some reasonable allowance, however, must be made for the fears and the solitudes of honest and pious men, who lived in very critical and perilous times; who felt that they were contending for the very life of Scriptural religion; and who were in perpetual consternation lest a breach should be left open, which might facilitate the re-entrance of Romish tyranny and corruption. Besides, the thoughts of Jewel were so intently fixed upon the most weighty and substantial matters, that he deemed all attention to subordinate concerns, an intolerable waste both of energy and time.

From this period we are to regard him as one of the *burning and shining lights* of that Church, whose purification and deliverance was the chiefest desire of his heart. His advancement to the prelacy was an event on which she might well rejoice. But, assuredly, neither he, nor his colleagues would have had much cause for self-congratulation, on their preferment, if their thoughts or wishes had been directed to mere temporal emolument or ease. The episcopal revenues and domains were, at that time, for the most part, in a condition of pitiable decay. The



Popish prelates, perceiving that the extinction of their own power was fast approaching, did not scruple to turn to profitable account the remaining period of their precarious tenure, by every possible artifice of alienation. The consequence was, that their Protestant successors found the property attached to their Sees so miserably dilapidated, that they were reduced to great difficulty in providing for the current expenses incident to their station.

Of course, they were but ill able to administer relief to the necessities of the

Impoverished  
condition of the  
Bishoprics.

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poor. And hence, the mischief occasioned by the impoverishment of the Bishoprics, was not confined to the occupants themselves : it was extended to the cause for which they had been labouring. The ignorant multitude raised an outcry against the parsimony of the Protestant churchmen ; which they contrasted with the generosity of their Papal predecessors. There was now,—they complained,—no liberal housekeeping—no becoming retinue of attendants and retainers—no kindly welcome to the stranger and the indigent. Whoever might be the gainers by the Reformation, the poor, at least, had no reason to rejoice in it ! All this while, the Bishops themselves were, many of them, little better than paupers. And some there were among them, who, for several years, were unable to live out of debt, or even to procure the decent necessities of life<sup>1</sup>.

1560.

The See of Salisbury was one of the number which had suffered most severely from these selfish

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. p. i. pp. 232, 233. Oxf. Ed.



and unprincipled dealings. The immediate predecessor of Jewel was a man whose name was Capon : and it was observed by him, that the appellation was singularly expressive of the temper of the man. *Capon*, he would say, *has devoured all!* And, unfortunately it was not only the episcopal revenue which suffered from his rapacity. Capon had laid his hand on every living in the diocese, within his reach. The effect of this was, that so many parishes were either left without teachers, or were consigned to unworthy and ignorant incumbents, that Jewel was reduced to the necessity of becoming himself, almost an itinerant preacher of the gospel. There is little doubt that the labour thus imposed upon his feeble frame, in addition to the ordinary cares of his See, contributed materially to shorten his invaluable life.

The judicious practice of selecting the most learned and illustrious of the Protestant divines for the duties of the pulpit, was continued this year with the best possible effect. Grindal, Nowel, Scory, Pilkington, Sandys, and others, were called upon, in their turn, to set forth the pure doctrines of the Reformed faith, both at court, and at St. Paul's Cross : and Jewel, of course, was not left out. At all these sermons the concourse of hearers was immense. The people flocked, in crowds, to hear the *exiles*. The exertions of the preachers, countenanced as they often were by the presence of the Queen and the nobility, inspired the multitudes with confidence and respect towards the *new religion*, as it was called ; and won their affectionate reverence for the persons of the clergy, recently emerged from their banishment, and “ shin-

ing”—as Strype expresses it,—“with clear consciences, and holy zeal for the truth<sup>1</sup>.”

Of all these addresses from the pulpit, that which produced the greatest public sensation was the Sermon delivered by

Jewel's challenge to the Papists.

Bishop Jewel, from St. Paul's Cross, on the 17th of March, being the second Sunday before Easter, in this year; (on which occasion, be it observed, Jewel did not scruple to appear in the episcopal habit). It was in this sermon that he put forth his celebrated challenge to the Papists: it therefore may be considered as the germ of his subsequent controversial writings. His text was from 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c.: *For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you; that the Lord Jesus, the same night that he was betrayed, took bread, &c. &c.* In the course of the sermon he speaks of the challenge in question, as something which had been pronounced by him, in substance, on a former occasion; but which he now felt himself called upon to repeat, by certain rumours and surmises, to the effect that he had then given utterance to more than he was prepared to maintain. His words are these: “The matter itself I have now in hand, putteth me in remembrance of certain things that I uttered unto you to the same purpose, at my last being in this place. I remember I laid out, then, here before you, a number of things that are now in controversy, whereunto our adversaries will not yield. And I said, perhaps boldly, as it might then seem to some men, — but, as I myself, and the learned of our

<sup>1</sup> Ann. vol. i. pt. i. p. 300, Oxf. ed.

adversaries themselves, well know, sincerely and truly,—that none of all them that, this day, stand against us, are able, or shall ever be able, to prove against us any one of all those points, either by the Scriptures, or by example of the primitive Church, or by the Doctors, or by the ancient General Councils. Since that time, it hath been reported in other places, that I spake then more than I was able to justify or make good. Howbeit, those reports were only made in corners, and therefore, ought the less to trouble me. But if my sayings had been so weak, and might so easily have been reprov'd, I marvel that the parties never yet came to the light, to take the advantage. For my promise was, and that openly before you all, that if any man were able to prove the contrary, I would yield and subscribe to him; and he should depart with the victory. Loth I am to trouble you with the rehearsal of such things, as I have spoken afore. And yet, because the case so requireth, I shall desire you, that have already heard me, to bear the more with me in this behalf. Better it were to trouble your ears with twice hearing of one thing, than to betray the truth of God.

“ The words that I then spake, as near as I can call them to mind, were these :—If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic Doctor or Father,—or, out of any old General Council,—or, out of the holy Scriptures of God,—or, any one example of the primitive Church,—whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved,

“ 1. That there was any private Mass in the

world, at that time, for the space of six hundred years after Christ ;

“ 2. Or, that there was any communion ministered unto the people under one kind ;

“ 3. Or, that the people had their Common Prayers then in a strange tongue, that they understood not ;

“ 4. Or, that the Bishop of Rome was then called an Universal Bishop, or the Head of the Universal Church ;

“ 5. Or, that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, carnally, or naturally, in the sacrament ;

“ 6. Or, that his body is, or may be, in a thousand places, or more, at one time ;

“ 7. Or, that the Priest did then hold up the Sacrament over his head ;

“ 8. Or, that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour ;

“ 9. Or, that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy ;

“ 10. Or, that, in the sacrament, after the words of Consecration, there remaineth only the accidents and shows, without the substance of bread and wine ;

“ 11. Or, that the Priest then divided the sacrament into three parts, and afterwards received, himself, all alone ;

“ 12. Or, that whosoever had said that the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance, of Christ's body, had therefore been adjudged for a heretic ;

“ 13. Or, that it was lawful to have thirty, twenty,

fifteen, ten, or five Masses, said in one Church, in one day ;

“ 14. Or that images were then set up in the Churches, to the intent that the people might worship them ;

“ 15. Or that the lay people was then forbidden to read the word of God, in their own tongue ;

“ If any man were able to prove any of these articles, by any one clear or plain clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures, or of the old Doctors, or of any old General Council, or by any example of the Primitive Church ;—I promised then that I would give over, and subscribe unto him.”

Having thus recited the challenge, as originally delivered, he proceeds as follows : “ These words, or the very like, I remember, I spake here openly before you all. And these be the things that some men say I have spoken, and cannot justify. But I, for my part, will, not only *not* call in, any thing that I have said (being well assured of the truth herein), but also will lay more matter to the same ; that, if they that seek occasion have anything to the contrary, they may have the larger scope to reply against me.

“ Wherefore, besides all that I have said already, I will say further—(and yet nothing so much as might be said)—if any one of our adversaries be able clearly and plainly to prove, by such authority of the Scriptures, the old Doctors, and Councils, as I have said before ;

“ 16. That it is lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, and in silence to himself ;

“ 17. Or, that the priest had, then, authority to offer Christ unto his Father;

“ 18. Or, to communicate and receive the Sacrament for another, as they do ;

“ 19. Or, to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man, by means of the Mass ;

“ 20. Or, that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people, that the Mass, *ex opere operato*,—that is, even for that it is said and done,—is able to remove any part of our sin ;

“ 21. Or, that, then, any Christian man called the Sacrament his *Lord* and *God* ;

“ 22. Or, that the people was then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament, as long as the accidents of bread remain without corruption ;

“ 23. Or, that a mouse, or any other worm or beast, may eat the body of Christ, (for so some of our adversaries have said and taught) ;

“ 24. Or, that, when Christ said, ‘ *Hoc est corpus meum*,’ this word *hoc* pointeth not to the bread, but to an *individuum vagum*, as some of them say ;

“ 25. Or, that the accidents, or forms, or shows, of bread and wine, be the Sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not, rather, the very bread and wine itself ;

“ 26. Or, that the Sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it ;

“ 27. Or, that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience—(these be the highest mysteries and greatest keys of their religion, and without them their doctrines can never be maintained and stand upright) ;



“ If any one of all our adversaries be able to avouch any one of all these Articles, by any such sufficient authority of Scriptures, Doctors, or Councils, as I have required; as I said before, so say I now again, I am content to yield unto him, and to subscribe. But I am well assured that they shall never be able to allege one sentence. And because I know it, therefore I speak it, lest ye haply should be deceived <sup>1</sup>. ”

It should be here observed, that the whole of Jewel's Discourse was, of itself, a sort of challenge to the adherents of the Romish faith; for it treated, copiously and intrepidly, of most of the principal points in controversy between them and the Reformers. But the above distinct and articulate impeachment of the more essential doctrines of Romanism, sounded like a trumpet-note of defiance. The echo of it went forth, not only over England, but throughout Europe: and none were more rudely startled by the sound of it, than the fugitive Papists, who had sought an asylum at Louvain, Douay, and St. Omer's. In England, however, no champion appeared, on the instant, to take up the gauntlet, which was thus audaciously thrown down. The only immediate effect produced

Letters be-  
tween Cole  
and Jewel.

by the challenge was a letter from Dr. Henry Cole, the late Dean of St. Paul's.

The very day after the sermon, this candid Divine addressed the Preacher, almost “ with bated breath and whispering humbleness; ” abjuring altogether the office of a disputant, and protesting that he wrote “ with no other intent than to be in-

<sup>1</sup> See the Sermon, in Jewel's Works, p. 45—62; ed. 1611.



structed." To this seemingly courteous application, Jewel, of course, replied with equal courtesy. But, as the correspondence proceeded, the tone of the humble inquirer became more and more sarcastic, intemperate, and disingenuous. At length, Dr. Cole had recourse to a most indefensible proceeding. He dispersed among his own party, a letter which purported to be an answer to one of his antagonist; but without communicating that letter to Jewel himself. On hearing this, Jewel requested Cole to inform him whether or not the paper in circulation was written by him; in order that he (Jewel) might not be discredited by delaying to reply. To this application Cole was obstinately silent. Upon this, Jewel published another letter, containing a recapitulation of the whole debate between them; and so the matter ended.

It would be to little purpose to load these pages with an abstract of this correspondence. The whole was little more than a skirmish, prelude to the contest that was afterwards to be carried on with a much more persevering adversary. They who have curiosity and patience for the examination of it<sup>1</sup>, will see that Jewel had to deal with an enemy in all respects unworthy of him. He found it utterly impossible to bring this lowly and submissive *learner* to any thing like a fair encounter with any one question. The only triumph of Cole consisted in cowardly, though sometimes dexterous, evasion. The powers of Jewel might have wasted themselves for ever upon such an antagonist; just as the tempest wastes itself upon a

<sup>1</sup> It is printed in Jewel's Works, p. 1—62; ed. 1611.

reed, or a blade of grass. There is one passage in their correspondence, however, which deserves to be noted. Cole, be it remembered, though a decided Romanist at first, was one of those who complied with every change in the days of Henry and of Edward. And, when Mary came to the throne, he also very gladly complied with the repeal of those innovations; and became, once more, a zealous Roman Catholic. He was the person who visited Cranmer in prison, the day before his martyrdom, for the purpose of confirming him in apostasy; and he was appointed to preach the funeral sermon at the execution of the Archbishop. He was, also, the man whom we have seen defending, with extravagant vehemence of gesticulation, some of the worst absurdities of Romanism, at the disputation held before the Council of Queen Elizabeth. On the strength of these exhibitions of zeal for the Papacy, he had the hardihood to boast of his faithfulness and consistency. By this effrontery, he brought himself under the merited castigation of Jewel, who repelled this idle vaunt in the following words:—"Ye say that ye remain in the faith ye were baptized in. O, master doctor, stand not too much upon that point! Ye know that ye have forsaken a great number of things, that were thought necessary when ye were baptized. And yet, besides that, how many times have some of you altered your faith, within the space of twenty years? Remember well yourself; who wrote the book *De verâ obedientiâ*, against the supremacy of Rome<sup>1</sup>? Who commended it with his preface<sup>2</sup>? Who set it forth in

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner.<sup>2</sup> Boner.

solemn sermons<sup>1</sup>? Who confirmed it with open oath<sup>2</sup>? ” To this Cole replied, that Gardiner had repented at the hour of death; and that if he (Cole), at his first returning from his travels in Italy, had condescended to the primacy of King Henry, Jewel was guilty of a similar weakness, by subscribing Popish Articles in the time of Queen Mary. “ There be, in this town,” he adds, “ that saw you subscribe, and can bring forth your hand.” To this most lame and impotent defence, Jewel rejoins as follows:—“ Ye say that it was at your first coming home from Italy, that ye condescended to the primacy of King Henry. Here I must put you in remembrance, that ye continued therein still, all King Henry’s time out, even until the death of King Edward, and the coming in of Queen Mary: and if her Grace had continued out, to have entitled herself the Supreme Head of the Church of England—as she did a great while after her first entry, and (as it was thought) without burden of her conscience—I doubt not, then, but ye would have talked better with yourself, and continued so still. All this meanwhile, ye came to the Church; ye said and heard the Common Prayers; ye ministered and received the Communion; and, in all your doings, bare yourself as any other subject of this realm: and thus held out, as I said, for the space of twenty years. I may say to you, this was a good long ‘*coming home!*’ Therefore I may well thus conclude, and ye must needs confess the same, that either ye deceived the people then by your example, and conformity of all your doings, allowing that reli-

<sup>1</sup> Tonsal.<sup>2</sup> Cole himself.

gion for good, which, in your conscience, ye knew to be naught; or else, that ye be a dissembler, and deceive the people now, to think this religion to be naught, which, in your conscience and knowledge, ye find to be godly and good. So that, whatsoever judgment ye have now, or heretofore have had, of this religion, it must needs appear that ye be now, or else have been, a deceiver of the people. But after ye had laboured the matter better, and, as ye say, had read the Doctors—I pray ye, what Doctor found ye, that ever told ye the Pope ought to have the Supremacy of the whole Church; or that the Prince, in his own Church, ought not to have it? But I have subscribed, ye say, as well as ye, and my hand is to be seen, and that there be some that saw me when I did it. These proofs were needful, if I had denied the fact. But I have confessed it, openly and unrequired, in the midst of the congregation. The arguments that ye made were so terrible, that ye concluded with fire and faggot. I confess I *should* have done otherwise! But if I had not done as I did, *I had not been here now, to encounter with you.* If ye should now be opposed with the like conclusions, I doubt not but ye would be glad to do as both ye yourself, and your fellows, have done heretofore<sup>1</sup>.”

It must have required no ordinary powers of impudence, for Cole to venture on a comparison between the momentary fall of Jewel, under the sudden onset of ferocious persecution, and his own persevering defection, for twenty years, from “*the faith wherein he was baptized.*” And no one, it is presumed, will

<sup>1</sup> Jewel's Works, p. 30; ed. 1611.

consider the chastisement, here inflicted on him by Jewel, as at all disproportionately severe. For a considerable period after this, no other adversary appeared, in answer to the challenge; and, while the enemy were sharpening their weapons, and replenishing their magazines, Jewel was left, undisturbed, to prosecute his studies, and to do the work of a preacher and a Bishop. In the month of September, this year, a commission was issued to him by the Archbishop, by which he was empowered to visit the cities and dioceses of Sarum, and Bristol, metropolitically. The visitation of the Cathedral church of Salisbury, the Archbishop prudently declined to commit to Jewel, as Bishop of the diocese; in order that all occasion of strife might be avoided between the diocesan and the chapter<sup>1</sup>. In 1561, we find Jewel again in the pulpit at St. Paul's<sup>2</sup>; and in 1562, among the Lent preachers before the court<sup>3</sup>.

In the year 1561, while Jewel was in residence at Salisbury, he appears to have been consulted by some learned man upon a question, on which the opinions of the Divines and Canonists were not, at that time, unanimous. We find that one of the first measures of Archbishop Parker, after his consecration to the See of Canterbury, was to prepare and set forth "An admonition, for the necessity of the present time, till a further consultation, to all such as shall intend hereafter to enter the state of

1561.  
Jewel's judgment respecting marriage with two sisters.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker, vol. i. p. 152. Oxf. Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Strype Ann. vol. i. p. i. p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 407.

matrimony, godly, and agreeable to law." This step was rendered absolutely needful by that prevalence of lawless and incestuous marriages, which had been one effect of the unsettlement and confusion inevitably incident to a long period of change in matters of religion. This admonition was printed, and appointed to be set up in churches. By one of its provisions, a successive union with two sisters is strictly forbidden<sup>1</sup>. Notwithstanding this, there were some who still insisted that such alliances were legitimate: and upon this point the opinion of Jewel was requested. His answer to this inquiry has been preserved. In this document he observes, that, in the judgment of Pellicanus, Paulus, Fagius, Lyra, and some others, such marriage was deemed lawful; and this, upon the ground that the prohibition in Levit. xviii. 18., was confined to the case of two sisters living at the same time. And the only reason for such a provision, they affirm to be, that an union of two sisters with the same husband, would, almost unavoidably, be productive of jealousy and contention between them, and destroy all domestic harmony; as we find exemplified in the instance of Jacob, and his two wives Rachel and Leah. To Jewel, however, this view of the question appeared by no means satisfactory or conclusive. It might be true that there was no express prohibition of such marriages in the law of God. But this reasoning from *negatives*, he maintains, is always weak and un-

<sup>1</sup> "Fratris uxorem ducendi, vel duobus sororibus conjungendi, licentiam penitus submovemus." Strype, Parker, vol. i. pp. 174, 175. Oxf. Ed.



safe. There is no clause in Leviticus which forbids a man to marry his own daughter; or to marry with various of his relatives in the ascending line. Yet no man ever thinks of maintaining that any of these degrees may join together in lawful marriage. "Wherefore,"—he continues,—“we must needs think, that God, in that chapter, hath especially and namely forbidden certain degrees,—not as leaving all marriage lawful, which he had not there expressly forbidden,—but that, thereby, as by infallible precedents, we might be able to rule the rest. As when God saith, no man shall marry his mother, we understand that, under the name of mother, is contained both the grandmother, and the grandfather's wife, and that such marriage is forbidden. And when God commands, that no man shall marry the wife of his uncle by his father's side, we doubt not but, in the same, is included the wife of the uncle by the mother's side. Thus, you see, God himself would have us expound one degree by another. So likewise in this case, albeit I am not forbidden, by plain words, to marry my wife's sister, yet am I forbidden so to do by other words, which, by exposition, are plain enough. For when God commands me that I shall not marry my brother's wife, it follows directly by the same, that he forbids me to marry my wife's sister. For, between one man and two sisters, and one woman and two brothers, is like analogy and proportion; which is my judgment in this case. And other such like ought to be taken for a rule. And therefore the Rabbins of the Jews have expressly forbidden divers degrees by this rule, which God by plain words forbade not. And this”—he



concludes—"is one part of the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, that he will take upon him to rule God's commands at his pleasure ; and, by dispensation, to make that lawful in one man, for the time, which God hath plainly forbidden as unlawful in all men for ever. He hath dispensed with a man to marry his brother's wife, as you know. He hath dispensed with the brother to marry his own natural sister ; as ye find in *Summa Angelica*, in the word *Papa*. And what marvel ? He would be omnipotent ; and saith he may dispense, *contra jus Divinum* <sup>1</sup>." From this argument of Jewel's, it may be collected that he considered marriage with the sister of a deceased wife, as not merely culpable and immoral, but as positively incestuous, and destitute of all validity by the law of God. The question is similar to that which was agitated in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. ; whose union with the widow of his brother furnished matter of debate to all Christendom, and gave the first impulse to the English Reformation. The opinion and practice of later times have been conformable to the judgment here pronounced by the Bishop.

1562.

It would be improper to omit that, in the course of the present year, Jewel addressed a letter to Bullinger (the Pastor of the Church at Zurich) ; which, though not important for any allusion to ecclesiastical matters, is sufficiently curious as illustrative of the ignorance and credulity of the age. The former part of the epistle in question relates entirely to political matters,—namely,

<sup>1</sup> The whole letter is printed in Strype, Parker, vol. iii. pp. 55—58. App. No. xix. Oxf. Ed.

the intrigues of the Duke of Guise, and his endeavours to persuade the court of England that the war then breaking out in France was not an eruption of zeal for the Reformed religion, but merely a conspiracy against the government. It also mentions that the Queen of Scotland had sent to Queen Elizabeth a diamond of vast price, together with a copy of verses by Buchanan, and a letter vowing perpetual friendship, and her resolution to pass through England. It adds that the Queen was not deceived by these hollow shows of courtesy ; but was fixed in her resolve to assist the Prince of Condè. Particulars like these belong to general history : and they are adverted to here, merely for the purpose of shewing that Jewel, though a scholar and a churchman, had his mind constantly intent upon political matters, whenever they seemed to involve the interests of the reformed religion. But the most remarkable portion of this letter is its conclusion ; in which, after noticing the continued wetness of the season, he observes, that “ neither sun, nor moon, nor winter, nor spring, nor summer, nor autumn, have done their appropriate office. The rain had been so abundant, and so incessant, that one might imagine that the heavens had nothing else to do, but to rain. And out of this contagion”—he adds—“ monsters without end had been engendered ; infants with bodies hideously deformed ; some without heads, others with heads belonging to some other species ; some without arms, or without shin bones, or without legs ; some like mere skeletons, held together by a *compages* of bones, without flesh, just as we see the pictured representations of death. Similar prodigies have been

engendered, in abundance, from swine, and mares, and cows, and domestic fowls. The harvest, nevertheless, has been sufficiently productive to preclude all alarm<sup>1</sup>." The circulation of stories like these, by grave and intelligent men, is a thing which can scarcely be imagined in our times. The rapidity with which all information is circulated, and submitted to rigorous inquiry, now renders it impossible that tales of this monstrous description should obtain undisputed currency. We have only to recur to the state of society in the sixteenth century; and then our wonder will cease, at finding a man like Jewel retailing such ridiculous reports to a serious and soberminded divine!

Jewel's apology  
for the Church  
of England.

The same year in which Jewel wrote this very letter, was, perhaps, the most memorable and glorious in his life; for, in that year, he put forth the work, by which he is chiefly known at the present day,—his immortal "Apology for the Church of England." The necessity of a sound and popular Manual,—in which the faithful sons and daughters of that Church might find a succinct and powerful vindication of her doctrine and discipline,—had, by this time, become urgent and imperative. The Romanists, though they had shrunk from public controversy and disputation, had, nevertheless, shown themselves formidably active in the dissemination of invective. It might be difficult for them to meet the Protestants in the open lists of theological discussion. But it was easy for them to scatter abroad the charge of heresy, and schism, and

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. iii. p. 316. Rec. No. 73, Edn. 1715.

factious opposition to immemorial usage, and traditional verity. That such complaints were widely and diligently dispersed, we learn from Jewel himself, in the outset of his work. "It is reported," he says, "that we have departed from the faith; that we have raised out of hell, and restored to life again, many ancient and long-departed heresies; that we have scattered the seeds of furious and unheard-of fanaticism; and that, all this while, we ourselves are distracted by innumerable sects and factions. It is alleged that we are impious and wicked men, who make war, after the manner of the fabled giants, against God himself; and that we have trampled on all laws divine and human. We are charged with a design to overthrow all monarchies and kingdoms, and to bring upon mankind the curse of universal anarchy. We have rebelliously withdrawn ourselves from the *Catholic Church*, and have shaken the whole world with an infernal schism. The venerable Fathers, and the ancient Councils, have all been set at naught. Old customs and ceremonies have been universally put aside, to make way for new, unauthorized, and capricious usages. And all this, it is said, has been done, not from any sincere regard for the interests of true religion, but purely for the gratification of a contentious and malignant temper. The Romanists, it is alleged, on the contrary, have been, throughout, abhorrent from all innovation. They have faithfully adhered to the things which they had received from the Apostles, and from the most ancient Fathers of the Church; so that it is through them alone, that the faith once delivered to

the saints had been preserved, pure and incorrupt, unto the present day."

Such is the substance of the arraignment, which, at that time, was openly and vehemently proclaimed against the Protestant Church of England. The recital, it is apprehended, is far from superfluous, at the present day. The same accents are to be heard, even now, wherever the genius of Romanism can secure a willing audience. The voice may now, indeed, mutter out of the dust. But, if it could once more swell out into the loudness of the thunder, such would be the sounds with which it would "cleave the public ear." At that critical period, it was quite indispensable that the wisdom, which presided over our Reformation, should be publicly justified of her children. And no man living was more consummately qualified than Jewel, to render this good office to the Church. His work was first published in Latin. It came forth with the consent of the Bishops and other distinguished divines: and it had, moreover, the sanction of the Queen's authority. So that the Apology is not to be regarded as containing merely the sentiments of an individual writer; but rather as a sort of State Vindication of the Protestant Establishment of England. In this light it was, afterwards, represented by Jewel himself in his Epistle to the Queen, prefixed to his "Defence of the Apology;" in which he says, that, "after it had pleased Almighty God, at the first entry of your Majesty's reign, by a most happy exchange, and by the means of your Majesty's most godly travails, to restore to us the light and comfort of the Gospel,

there was written and published by us, a little book, in the Latin tongue, entitled an Apology for the Church of England, containing the whole substance of the Catholic Faith, now professed and freely preached throughout all your Majesty's dominions; that, thereby, all foreign nations might understand the considerations and causes of your Majesty's doings in that behalf. Thus, in old times, did Quadratus, Melito, Justinus Martyr, Tertullian, and other godly men, and learned Fathers, upon like occasions; as well to make known the truth of God, and to open the grounds of their profession, as also to put the infidels to silence, and to stop the mouths of the wicked."

Shortly after the appearance of this work, Jewel addressed a letter to Peter Martyr, in which he announced its publication to his friend. In this letter we find that the clerical habit was still a matter of offence to him. "Now," he says, "that the full light of the Gospel has burst forth, all the vestiges of error, together with the rubbish,—yea, even the smallest dust,—ought, as completely as possible, to be swept away. And this I heartily wish could be effected by us, with respect to the linen surplice<sup>1</sup>. For, in matters of doctrine, we have pared all error to the very quick; so that we differ not from you by a nail's breadth. With regard to religion," he adds, "every thing is peaceable with us. The Marian Bishops are still restricted within the liberties of the Tower. If the laws were but as rigorous now, as they were in the time of Henry, they would easily

<sup>1</sup> "Quod utinam nos in istâ λινოსτολίᾳ obtinere potuissemus."



yield. They are a contumacious and hard-ruled race ; *to be subdued only by terror and the sword.*" We have, here, one of those bursts of angry vehemence, which show that there was one Popish error which still partially adhered to Jewel himself, — namely, the belief that violence might fitly be resorted to, for the control, or the correction, of religious prejudices ; a remnant of the ancient principles, which he held, in common with the most enlightened men of the time. " We have lately published," he continues, " an Apology for the change of our Religion, and our Departure from the Romish Church. I send you the book, although it is scarcely worth dispatching to such a distance. It is faulty in many passages, like every thing else printed here ; such is the negligence of our printers. Our Queen is fully resolved not to send any representative to the Council ; which, where it is held, or whether it exists at all, we are altogether ignorant. If it yet has any existence, it must be very secret and obscure. We have it in contemplation to publish the reasons for which we have declined attendance. It is my own fixed persuasion, that nothing can be effectually advanced by such assemblies and discussions, at the present time ; and that it is not God's will to use such means for the propagation of the Gospel'."

Shortly after Peter Martyr had received a copy of Jewel's work, he wrote to acknowledge it, in terms which show the high estimation in which it was held, both by himself, and the other Protestant divines on the Continent. The whole of this letter is inserted

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ubi supra, No. 65.



here, as an agreeable specimen of the writer's epistolary style :—

“ By the good offices of the Bishop of London, I have received, most honoured Peter Martyr's letter to Jewel on his *Apology*. Prelate, a copy of your *Apology* for the Church of England, which neither I nor any of our friends had seen before. In your last communication, you rather hinted, than positively signified, that it was about to be published. But it could not, by any possibility, have reached us earlier than the 1st of August. From this, you may easily estimate the amount of inconvenience we have to endure, occasionally, from the distance between us. Your work has not only given the most entire satisfaction to me, who am delighted with every thing of yours ; but it appears to Bullinger, and his sons, and sons-in-law, and likewise to Gualter and Wolfius, so admirable for its wisdom and eloquence, that they are unbounded in their praises of it, and think that nothing more perfect has been published at this time. For my own part, I cordially congratulate you on this felicity ; the Church upon the edification you have afforded her ; and England upon the glory she will derive from your labours. I beseech of you to proceed in the course you have entered upon. Our cause is good ; but our defenders are few, when compared with the numbers of our adversaries. Besides, they are now thoroughly awakened ; and they are seeking to recommend themselves to the ignorant multitude, by the attractions of their style, and the craftiness of their sophistry. I speak of the Staphyli, and the Hosii, and others of the same stamp ; who are now standing forward, as sturdy patrons of the Pon-

tifical impostures. Your very learned and highly-finished Vindication has raised a confident expectation of you, and filled all good men with the hope that, while you live, no enemy shall dare to assail the truth of the Gospel with impunity. I rejoice exceedingly to have seen the day which makes you the parent of so goodly an offspring. May God, our heavenly Father, grant of his goodness that you may be increased with abundance of such fruit. As to other matters, how it is with you, I am as ignorant, as the Parthian or Hindoo is of the affairs of Germany. I persuade myself, however, that your affairs are in a flourishing, or, at least, in a tolerable condition. For we find that no messenger is so swift, as he who reports the miseries, the disasters, and the ruin of our friends; while we are long left in ignorance of their joy and prosperity. But, at all events, we ought to hope the best of each other, that the Deity will be graciously present with us, who are his own, in all places, and at all times. If you are desirous of knowing exactly how I am, be assured that my mind rests cheerfully on Christ; and that I am engaged in the same labours, in which I was earnestly employed when you were with me. In my bodily faculties I am not so sound or strong as I was heretofore. The weight of old age presses, day by day, more heavily upon me. For the last year and a half, I have been wholly bereft of my teeth; the digestive powers no longer do their office; and my appetite fails. I also suffer from defluxions in the head. And to these evils may be added severe pains in the legs, occasioned by two gatherings, which inflict grievous torment. And when the body is

suffering under its own proper maladies, the mind will be also affected by sympathy with it. I would not have introduced these particulars, which, from your kindness for me, will doubtless give you pain, if it were not that your prayers will be of signal benefit to me: and these, I am persuaded, will be urgent, in proportion to my necessities. I write nothing respecting the affairs of France, which, I presume, are as well known to you as to myself. The Synod of Trent affects to be making progress. But its pace is so slow, that it has settled nothing during these last five sessions. The things which they determine are nothing but old and rank abuses: so that you would imagine that they who are at work, were not Fathers of the Church, but beetles who are incessantly rolling about the same heap of dung! Farewell, most accomplished Prelate, who art more to me than the half of my own soul. May God preserve you long to the Church and State, and prosper you with all blessing. All our friends and learned men salute you. Lavater has published his Commentary on the Book of Proverbs<sup>1</sup>."

The year 1563 was memorable for  
the termination of the Council of Trent,  
which had commenced in the year 1545.

1563.  
Termination of  
the Council of  
Trent.

By the decrees of this Synod, the Church of Rome finally set the seal of her canonical authority to the whole body of her doctrine and discipline. It is well known that the State and Church of England uniformly refused to send representatives to this Assembly. Their recusancy was bitterly resented by the whole

<sup>1</sup> P. Mart. Epist. Theolog. p. 804. Ed. Gen. 1623.

Pontifical hierarchy. The adherents and partisans of the Romish power were loud in their clamours against the contumacy of the heretics; and sometimes the language of contempt was heard amidst the roar of fanatical invective. The misbelievers, it was said, dared not to show their faces in that glorious concourse of sages and divines, lest the prodigies and abominations of their *New Learning* should be brought to an open shame. They would not approach the light, lest it should make manifest their works of darkness<sup>1</sup>. It appears, from Jewel's last letter to Zuric, that he then meditated a full exposition of the *real* causes, which impelled the Church and Government of this country to disown this celebrated Synod, altogether. This design he accomplished in the course of the present year, in the form of a letter to a Venetian gentleman by the name of Scipio, with whom (as we have already seen), he had

<sup>1</sup> Thus, we find Dorman telling Dean Nowell, "that it was fear to be vanquished in their heresies, that the Protestants durst not come to the late General Trident Council, when they were called: and that, therefore, like cowardly yeomen, fearing the war, they caused their wives to bind clouts round their heads; and then, their kerchiefs being sick, must needs tarry at home, forsooth." This, to be sure, is coarse enough; but it must be confessed that the Romanist met with his match in the art of railing. "Who," replies Nowell, "could fear any vanquishing at your Councils; who, after so long sitting at Trident, hatched us out such a sort of goodly decrees, worse than addle eggs, as any Popish lad, meanly learned, sitting under a summer's hedge, might, in two or three afternoons, right well, and as well, have written, as they were written and set forth by your worthy Council. No, Sir; your Prelates sat not there about conning articles of religion, or to dispute with heretics to vanquish them. A few lousy friars, whom no man could fear but in

become acquainted at Padua, while engaged there in the prosecution of his studies<sup>1</sup>.

In order to put the reader in possession of the occasion, on which the Italian addressed his expostulation to the Bishop, it will be necessary to go back, for a moment, to the commencement of Elizabeth's reign. On her sister Mary's death, she did not think it expedient to decline all intercourse with the Court of Rome. She accordingly addressed a letter to the reigning Pontiff, Paul IV., to announce her accession to the crown. This despatch was duly delivered to his Holiness, by Sir Edward Karn; who, at that time was Queen Mary's resident at the Papal Court. The Pope was tempted to seize this favourable opportunity (as he imagined it) for confirming, by a vigorous proceeding, the Pontifical supremacy over the realm of England, before the new Queen was firmly established upon her throne. In an evil hour he dispatched an answer to the royal communication, in which he reminded Elizabeth that England was held by her monarchs, in vassalage to the Apostolic See; that, moreover, the Queen, being illegitimate, was destitute of all right to the succession; that he, the Pope, could, on no account, annul the sentences pronounced, in that behalf, by his predecessors

his pottage or egg-pie, did serve that turn well enough. And your great Prelates devised the while, by that long consultation, how by sword and fire they might most cruelly murder all true Christians, whom they call heretics, and now do labour to put in execution such their bloody practices."—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i. part ii. p. 58, 59.

<sup>1</sup> Ante, c. iii.

Clement VII. and Paul III.; that it was an act of intolerable audacity, on her part, to assume the crown without first obtaining his consent; that she was, therefore, in no condition to expect any favour at his hand; but that, nevertheless, if she would formally renounce her pretensions, and throw herself upon his indulgence, he would extend his paternal clemency to her; would even go so far as to allow the use of the English Liturgy; and would do for her whatever else might be consistent with the dignity of his holy office. If the Pope had been desirous of ridding himself for ever of all connection with this country, he could scarcely have dictated a despatch better fitted to effect his purpose. The silly and passionate document was utterly disregarded by the Queen. It must effectually have opened her own eyes, and those of her Court, to the unabated and insufferable arrogance of the Papacy, and to the ignominy of submission or concession. Paul IV. did not live long, to witness the ill success of his attempt. His successor, Pius IV., had wisdom or cunning enough to abstain from a repetition of his menaces. His policy was of a more conciliating aspect. He endeavoured to win the Queen by the artifices of treacherous kindness. And, with this intent, he dispatched Vincent Parapalia, the Abbot of St. Saviour's, with letters couched in the language of courtesy; in which he tempted her, by large and liberal offers, to consent to a restoration of the Papal supremacy in England. By this time, however, the authority of Rome was destroyed by Act of Parliament; and the Queen resolved to have no communication with the Popish envoy. She would not even suffer him to land in her dominions.



In spite of this repulse, the Pope, having resolved to renew the sittings of the Council of Trent, sent his Nuncio to invite the Queen and her Bishops to attend that Assembly by their representatives. Elizabeth, however, was inflexible. Not even the intercession of France and Spain could gain admission for the Romish minister into England. These measures having utterly failed, nothing remained but to try what could be done by a less public and audible proceeding. And, with this view it probably was, that Scipio was induced to address his personal acquaintance Jewel, who had recently been elevated to the See of Salisbury, and was known over Europe as among the foremost of all the Protestant ecclesiastics.

In the discharge of this office, the Italian acquitted himself with all becoming and commendable solemnity. He expressed to Jewel the profoundest amazement at the obstinacy of the English nation, in declining to send an ambassador to a General Council, which had been summoned by the Vicegerent of Christ, for the settlement of religion.

And this audacity, he observed, was

Letter of Scipio  
to Jewel.

aggravated by the circumstance, that not a letter, not even so much as a message, was sent to excuse their absence. But this was not all. The English people had presumed, without the aid or authority of any Council, to alter the whole frame of the *ancient* religion: thus adding the sin of schism to the crime of stubbornness and rebellion. It was wholly unlawful, he said, to debate of religious controversies, but in assemblies duly and solemnly convoked by the authority of the Pope. For, *there* were the patriarchs, and the bishops, and the learned men of



every class, from whose lips alone the truth was to be sought ; and there was the light of each particular Church ; and there, too, was the shedding abroad of the Holy Ghost. It was the practice of all godly princes to refer important questions, relative to the truth and worship of God, to public and holy consultation. And this practice was illustrated and confirmed by manifold examples under the elder dispensation. Moses, Joshua, David, Hezekiah, Josias, and other Judges, Kings, and Priests, never dared to advise concerning religious matters, but in a Convocation of *Bishops*. The Apostles of Christ, too, and the holy Fathers of the Catholic Church, had held their Councils for similar purposes ; and in this manner were vanquished the heresies of Arius, Eunomius, and Eutyches, and other notorious perversions of the truth. And by such means, and such only, could the distractions of the world ever be composed.

*Jewel's answer.* To this awful and somewhat tragic protestation, Jewel replied in a powerful and elaborate epistle, or rather treatise, which may form a very fit sequel to his Apology. It must have caused the ears of the Venetian to tingle, if his heart were, in truth, as warm in the cause of the Papacy, as his words were energetic. It would be useless to introduce, in this place, a copious abstract of this composition. The world is not likely ever to see another General Council : and a full exposure of the pretensions involved in the convocation of such an assembly, would, probably, possess but little attraction for any but theological readers. It may, nevertheless, be advisable to point out the substance

of such topics, in the Bishop's argument, as are of chief importance, and most destructive of the Pontifical pretension.

In the first place, then, the Bishop observes, that if the absence of English representatives were to be a subject of wonder, there would not very soon be an end of wondering. There would still remain matter to wonder at, in the absence of Presbyter John, and of the three Patriarchs of the East,—namely, those of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria. And not only so; but there were many other nations, who made no appearance at this *General* Synod of all Christendom: for instance, the Armenians, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Moors, the Ethiopians, the Indians. Among these nations there were many baptized Christians, who were ruled by Bishops: and yet not a single delegate from those regions was seen at Trent. It would appear, indeed, that none of these people ever received a summons from the Pope. He was evidently conscious that his ecclesiastical decrees could never lay hold upon them.

Still more astonishing was it, that the Pontiff should summon to a deliberative assembly, men whom he had before condemned of heresy, and, without hearing, had openly pronounced *excommunicate*. Was it to be imagined that the English would come to the Council, as criminals, to hear nothing but their own arraignment and condemnation?

But, further, was England the only stubborn country in Europe? Where, then, were the ambassadors from Denmark, from Sweden, from the Princes of Germany, from Switzerland, from the Grisons, from

the Hans Towns? Where were the representatives of the realm of Scotland, or the Dukedom of Prussia? Nay, where was the Pope himself? Did he remain at Rome, to meditate on the fate of John XXII., who came to the Council of Constance *Pope*, but returned *Cardinal*?

And then (supposing it granted that a General Council, fitly assembled and righteously conducted, were an effective instrument for the settlement of faith,) how could it be shown that the right to convoke it rested with the Patriarch of Rome, more than with any other Patriarch or Bishop? In ancient times, the convocation of Great Ecumenical Synods was always held to be a part of the imperial prerogative. And, if this rule were correct, to whom can the same power belong now, but to the various kings and princes, who have shared among them the imperial dominion?

It should further be remembered, what had been the character of the Popes; more especially, of the existing Pontiff? Could it be a matter of wonder that we came not to a man of blood, who had murdered one of his own Cardinals; or to a dealer in simony, who had notoriously corrupted the conclave? Would it be the part of wisdom to run wilfully into a place infected; or to consult of religion, with the enemies of all religion?

Moreover, in ancient times, attendance on Councils was a free and optional thing? Bishops were not, then, bound, on pain of being stigmatized as contumacious, to abandon their dioceses, for long, painful, and expensive journeys. Our Bishops, had, in truth,

no time to spare from their own sacred functions. They could not be absent five, six, or seven years, at the bidding of the Bishop of Rome?

But, after all, what was the real object of this Council? If it were the removal of schism, why was Christendom suffered to remain passive, for thirty years together, while the *heresy* of Luther was taking root? The truth, however, was, that the restoration of religion was never in the thoughts of any of the Popes. The whole design of the Council was, to give permanency to inveterate abuse, and to prop up the sinking credit of the Romish Court. The Protestants, on their part, had nothing to fear from a general Synod, if it were free, ingenuous, and Apostolic. But, this being a hopeless matter, what was left for the people of England, but to order and purify their own Church, by their own National Synods?

Such is the brief outline of Jewel's exposition. What may have been the effect of it, upon the mind of his Italian correspondent, we are not informed. It does not appear, however, that the application was renewed, or that any reply was attempted, either by private individuals, or by persons in authority.

Towards the close of the preceding year, 1562, Jewel had to lament the Death of Peter Martyr. decease of his instructor, patron, and friend, Peter Martyr. In the month of August, he had sent to Jewel his cordial congratulations on the publication of the Apology. On the 12th November following, he expired, being then in the sixty-third year of his age. This distinguished champion of the Reformation was by birth a Florentine. His family

name was Vermilio. He very early acquired the fame of an accomplished scholar and divine. When he had reached his sixteenth year, he became a regular Augustine in the monastery of Fiesolè. His reputation at length promoted him to the post of Abbot of Spoleto ; in which he was distinguished for his successful activity in rectifying the disorders and abuses, which had crept into the monastic societies within his charge. About this time, his faith was unsettled by a fearless study of the Scriptures, and by the writings of the Protestant divines. He subsequently embraced the Reformed doctrines ; abandoned his preferment and his country ; married a nun who had left her convent ; and, in the time of Edward VI., was invited over to England, where he was advanced to the Divinity chair at Oxford, in 1549. The rest of his history is well known. There were few persons more cordially detested than Martyr, by the English Papists ; some of whom did not scruple to assail him with the bitterest language of obloquy and contempt. By Dr. Tresham he was spoken of as a dotard, and a most notorious master of errors : by others as a time-server, and a renegade. By Dr. Smyth,—himself a prodigy of variableness,—he was charged with bringing the Lutheran doctrine of the Sacrament with him to England ; and with “ turning his tippet ” when he found that doctrine unpopular at court. From this calumny, however, he was vigorously protected by Archbishop Cranmer. “ Of Peter Martyr’s opinion and judgment in this matter, no man,” says he, “ can better testify than I. Forasmuch as he lodged within my house long before he came to Oxford ; and I had with him many conferences in that matter ;

and know that he was of the same mind that he is now, and as he defended afterwards in Oxford, and hath written in his book. And if Dr. Smythe understood him otherwise, in his lectures at the beginning, it was for lack of knowledge: for that, then, Dr. Smythe, understood not the matter, nor yet doth not; as it appeareth by this foolish and unlearned book which he hath now set out<sup>1</sup>." The affection and reverence with which Martyr was regarded by Jewel, has already appeared in the course of this narrative. His private correspondence, and his public writings, bear a uniform and cordial testimony to the virtues, the labours, and the attainments of the illustrious foreigner. The removal of such a man must have been felt as a heavy bereavement by the Bishop. With him, he was in the habits of frequent and confidential communication. To him he breathed out all his doubts, and fears, and hopes. And to him he constantly looked for counsel and encouragement. The possible return of Martyr to England, in the reign of Elizabeth, was scarcely ever absent from his thoughts: and it may easily be imagined, that such an event would have been, to him, a source of unspeakable consolation and strength. But it is evident from his letters, that his ardent desire for the society of Martyr, never made him forgetful of the interests and the honour of his friend. It will be recollected that, anxious as Jewel was to see his

<sup>1</sup> Answer to Smythe's Preface; Cranmer's Remains, vol. iii. p. 13. An ample account of Peter Martyr may be found in Simler's Latin Oration on his Life and Death, prefixed to his *Loci Communes*, &c. Ed. Genev. 1623.



former instructor once more in the theological chair at Oxford, he counselled him not to listen to any proposals from this country, which were not, in all respects, adequate to his commanding pretensions. And he further recommends him to wait till our fluctuating and *insular* concerns had subsided into such quiet, as might render a residence here peaceable and safe. It so happened that, even if his re-establishment in England could have been accomplished, the Church would have derived but little benefit from his services. Though not greatly advanced in years, he was rapidly approaching to the end of his labours. In his above-cited letter to Jewel, written in August, 1562, he calmly describes the decay of his bodily faculties; and in a few months after he peaceably breathed his last<sup>1</sup>.

1563.  
Simler's oration, with a silver image of Martyr, presented to Jewel.

Early in the following year, Jewel received from Josias Simler, who had succeeded Peter Martyr in the theological chair at Zurich, a copy of Martyr's commentary on the Book of Genesis, accompanied by an oration, composed by Simler himself, in honour of the memory of his predecessor. Both of these performances were inscribed to Jewel<sup>2</sup>; a species of compliment which was now frequently offered him by many other writers. For, by this time his name was considered, by the most eminent authors, as conferring an enviable distinction on their labours.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Ibid*.

<sup>2</sup> The Oration of Simler, with the Dedication of it to Jewel, are prefixed to the Genevan Edition of Peter Martyr's *Loci Communes*, &c. 1623.



Together with the books, an image of Peter Martyr, wrought in silver, was transmitted to Jewel, by Simler; it being thought that such memorials could be addressed to none so appropriately, as to the man who, for so many years, had possessed the confidence and affection of the deceased. These acceptable testimonies of respect were acknowledged by Jewel, in a letter dated the 23d of March, 1563. It begins with many expressions of cordial admiration and regard for his correspondent; and continues thus:

“I have received from you the silver image of that excellent old man, Peter Martyr; and, with it, your account of his life and death. In the figure, there is, in many points, an admirable resemblance to the original. And yet there is, in the whole, something, I know not what, in which I am unable to find the skill of the artist. But what wonder is it, that some fault should be committed in executing the similitude of a man, whose like, when I look around me, I despair of ever beholding? I have perused your oration with the greatest avidity and delight. I seemed to myself to be in the presence of the aged man, with whom I lived so long and so affectionately. I appeared to have him before my eyes, even still more vividly than during his life. You have refuted with conspicuous learning and acuteness, that obscure and insolent railer, Stancarus; and I trust that the Church will be signally benefited by your performance. I write, however, somewhat sparingly of this matter, more especially as you are yourself the subject. For I cannot fully impart my thoughts without violating our friendship, and my own sense of

Jewel's acknowledgment.

modesty. I can only say, that I have read your book with pleasure, as I do every thing of yours. For, even where the matter was scanty, you have written copiously ; and luminously, where the subject was obscure. I fully acknowledge all your kindness, and profess myself to be your debtor. Our own Church, by the blessing of God, is free from such prodigies as you have exposed. Our main contest is with the satellites of the Papacy. They, indeed, give us what disturbance they can, in corners and hiding-places ; and, even at this moment, hinder me from putting together my thoughts against the *Ubiquitarians*. But on that affair I have written more fully to Bullinger. If you should edit the works of Peter Martyr, you will render a service to the Church, and satisfy the expectations of many good men. The Commentaries on Genesis, respecting which you seem more particularly to desire my opinions, I have never read ; but I doubt not that they are such as, when published, will be perceived to be the work of Peter Martyr. Whatever news we have, I have despatched in my letters to Bullinger. If your Rhine was not in the way, I would write and send to you more frequently<sup>1</sup>."

The person alluded to in the above letter, by the name of Stancarus, is scarcely described with propriety by Jewel, as an *obscure* and insolent reviler. He was, undoubtedly, an acrimonious and intemperate writer ; but, at all events, he was sufficiently *notorious*. He was a native of Mantua, and was greatly instrumental in the introduction of the reformed doc-

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. p. 239—241.

trines into Poland. He was, moreover, well known as the antagonist of Osiander; in contradiction to whom he maintained, that Christ is a Mediator by virtue of his human nature only. The controversy, as usual, was attended with much loss of time, and patience, and temper, on both sides. The opinions of Stancarus are here stigmatized by Jewel as prodigies by which the Church of England was, happily, not infested. These opinions, however, erroneous as they might be, were not more offensive to the orthodox of any country, than those of his adversary; who ascribed the justification of man, and the virtue of Christ's intercession, to the divine nature *exclusively*<sup>1</sup>. The dispute never extended itself to England; which, as Jewel remarks, found abundant occupation in its conflict with the Papists. The Ubiquitarian controversy, to which the letter of Jewel also adverts, was another Ubiquitarian question. plague, which our Church was likewise fortunate enough to escape. The discussion was one which, naturally enough, grew out of the sacramental dispute: for they who contended for the bodily and local presence of Christ in the Eucharist—whether Romanists or Lutherans—must also maintain that his body might be in many places at the same instant; and this assertion seems to imply, as a necessary consequence, that his body has the attribute of omnipresence. Peter Martyr had composed a dialogue upon this question, in which he introduced Jewel, under the name of Palæmon, as Moderator between two disputants: the one, an Ubiquitarian,

<sup>1</sup> See Bayle's Dict. art. *Stancarus*.

under the name of *Pantachus*; the other, an orthodox thinker, relative to the circumscription of Christ's humanity, under the name of *Orothetes*<sup>1</sup>: and his desire was, that Jewel should succeed him in the office of combatant against the erroneous doctrine. It further appears, from Jewel's correspondence with Bullinger, that he actually had it in contemplation to write expressly against the Ubiquitarians<sup>2</sup>. It is impossible to lament that the design was defeated by the necessity for his incessant exertions against the Papists: for otherwise an additional element of discord might have been cast into the cauldron of our theological strife. His controversy with Harding, indeed, gave him an opportunity of incidentally considering the subject. The sixth article in his Challenge relates to the question, whether Christ's body is, or might be, in a thousand places, or more, at one and the same time. And though he professes to treat the matter somewhat compendiously, the discussion occupies nearly nineteen folio pages. This will pro-

<sup>1</sup> See Peter Martyr's letter to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, 23d Aug. 1561. Gen. ed. 1623. p. 796.—*Pantachus* is a word which may signify an Ubiquitarian; from the Greek word πανταχοῦ, *everywhere*. *Orothetes*, (ὀροθέτης), in like manner, implies a *setter of boundaries*; in other words, an advocate for the doctrine, that the human body of Christ is circumscribed within limits.

<sup>2</sup> Humphr. p. 217. 238. One great patron of the Ubiquitarian doctrine was Brentius, or Brentzen, a reforming Divine of considerable note. His doctrine was sufficiently extravagant, if we are to credit the account of it given by Calvin; who says that Brentius maintained, "*Christum, dum in præsepi jaceret, gloriosum in cælo fuisse, etiam secundum corpus.*" Calv. Ep. p. 49. Op. vol. ix. Ed. Amst. 1667.

bably be thought, at the present day, an ample allowance for the investigation of an absurdity so monstrous. It is needless to say, that nothing can well be imagined more triumphant than the reasoning of Jewel, or more ridiculous than the arguments of his adversary. The disquisition, however, is extremely valuable, not merely for the demolition of the doctrine itself, but also for the luminous and masterly exposition which it furnishes, of the manner in which we are to understand the rhetorical and figurative language of the ancient Fathers.

After all, however, the most prosperous attempt to determine the Ubiquitarian question, in all its bearings and extent, will be found to amount to little more than a clear statement of the difficulties which attend it. For instance,—on the one hand, it is indisputable that the body of Christ, being, like all other human bodies, a finite material thing, must be circumscribed within a limited space ; and beyond those limits, it can have no existence. On the other hand, it is true, that the Deity of Christ has once been united to the human nature, and still continues to be so united. It cannot, therefore, be said, of the Deity of Christ, that it is, in any place, disjoined from that mysterious connection. The Divine nature of the Eternal Word is one and indivisible. How then can we affirm that this same nature is united with the manhood in heaven, at the right hand of God ; but that, elsewhere, it is—(if we may so express it)—extricated from that combination, and exists in the form of pure, simple, unmixed divinity?

The sum of the whole matter is this. To say that the body of Christ is every where, is a prodigious

metaphysical absurdity. And yet, to say that the divinity of Christ is, in one place, conjoined with his manhood, and, in another place, is not so conjoined, is to sever and apportion his undivided and indivisible essence. Herein is a paradox more intricate than human faculties, in their present imperfect condition, can be expected to unravel. But still, the practical difficulty is, in truth, but little. The firmest believer in the divinity of the Saviour never conceives of him as *dissociated* from the humanity which he once assumed. In our loftiest meditations on the divine attributes of the Son of God, the man Jesus Christ is constantly present to our thoughts, and to our faith. The divine essence of the Redeemer is, in some ineffable manner, conjoined with the bodily substance, which, at this hour, is in the holy place, not made with hands. “And, forasmuch as this body, by virtue of that conjunction, is made the body of the Son of God, (by whom, also, it was made a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world), this giveth it *a presence of force and efficacy*, throughout all generations of men <sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Hooker, b. v. § 55.—And see Field on the Church, Append. to b. v. part i. c. ii. p. 819. Ed. 1635.

## CHAPTER VI.

1564—1566.

*Circulation of the Apology over Europe—The Apology translated into English—Archbishop Parker's Tract subjoined to it—Jewel's Controversy with Harding—Harding's History and Character—His Angry Letter to Jewel in 1565—Jewel's account of the Controversy to Bullinger—Jewel's notions respecting the habits—He opposes the preferment of Humphrey for refusing them—His questions to Bullinger—Degree of D.D. conferred on Jewel.*

THE "Apology for the Church of England" was, by this time, in circulation all over Europe. Being composed in Latin, it would, of course, be accessible to all lettered men throughout the Continent. It commanded the attention and the applause of the learned in France, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, and Sweden. It even forced its way into Italy, and was read at Naples, and even at Rome itself. That its power was deeply felt by the Romanists is clear from the censure with which it was *honoured* by the Council of Trent; and also from the circumstance, that two divines, the one a Spaniard the other an Italian, were appointed by that Assembly to prepare a reply to it. Whether or not these official advocates addressed themselves to their task, cannot now be ascertained. It is certain, how-

1564.  
Circulation of  
the *Apology*  
over Europe.



ever, that if they did make the attempt, their labours never saw the light <sup>1</sup>.

The importance attached to it, as a book of popular instruction, is attested by the fact, that it was speedily translated into most of the living languages of Europe. Versions of it appeared in Italian, French, and Spanish; in German and Dutch; and lastly, in Greek <sup>2</sup>. And it may here be mentioned that about nine years afterwards (in 1571) it was rendered into Welch <sup>3</sup>. It is not to be supposed that the people of England would long be left without an advantage, which was so promptly provided for those of the Continent. We are told by Strype that an English edition of the Apology was printed in England in the same year (1562) with the publication of the original: and it is said that Archbishop Parker had a considerable share in the execution of it. Another, and a more perfect, translation was put forth in 1564: and, to the honour of female piety and accomplishment, this service was rendered to the literature and religion of England, by Lady Anne Bacon, the wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great

1564.  
The Apology  
translated into  
English.

<sup>1</sup> Jewel himself, speaking of the Apology, says, "Yea, it was read and sharply considered, in your late *Covent*, at Trident; and great threats made there, that it should be answered, and the matter by two notable learned Bishops taken in hand; the one a Spaniard, the other an Italian. Which two, notwithstanding, these five whole years, have yet done nothing, nor (I believe) intend any thing to do! Indeed, certain of your brethren have been often gnawing at it; but such as care nothing,—nor is cared,—what they write."—Def. Apol. pt. i. c. iv. div. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. pt. i. p. 428

<sup>3</sup> Eccl. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 49, note (4.)

Seal, and mother of the renowned Lord Bacon. Lady Bacon was one of the five daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gyddy (or Gidding) Hall, in Essex; himself a man of eminent erudition, and preceptor to Edward VI. The females of his family were trained, after the fashion of those times, to a course of studies which, at the present day, would, undoubtedly, be considered as unfeminine. They were, all of them, mistresses of the Latin and Greek tongues; and familiar with departments of learning which would probably be thought repulsive in the matrons and the maidens of the nineteenth century. And yet, it does not appear that these masculine accomplishments were sufficient to deter the admirers of female excellence in that age. There was not one of these five learned ladies that was not eligibly and honourably matched: and one of them, Mildred, was the wife of Elizabeth's great minister, the illustrious Cecil.

When the Lady Anne had completed her translation of the Apology, she immediately submitted it to the inspection of Archbishop Parker, as the chief guardian and ruler of the Church. She likewise sent a copy to Jewel himself; and, not content with having translated a Latin book into English, she accompanied her performance with a letter in Greek; which the Bishop could do no less than answer in the same language. The version was carefully examined by the primate, and by the author of the Apology itself: and it was found to be so admirably executed, that they had not to suggest the alteration of a single word. And, lest it should be thought that these grave divines had suffered their

better judgment to be seduced by feelings of chivalrous courtesy towards the softer sex, the Archbishop in his reply, was at much pains to assure her that his decision, and that of Bishop Jewel, had been wholly unbiassed by any such motive. “Whereas,” he said, “both the author of the Latin work, and he, severally perusing and conferring her whole translation, had, without alteration, allowed of it, he was both to desire her Ladyship, and advertise the readers, to think that they had *not* therein given any thing to any dissembling affection towards her; as being contented to wink at faults to please her, or to make her without cause to please herself. For that there were sundry respects to draw them from so doing (although they had been so ill-minded); as there was no cause why they should be so thought of. Her own judgment in discerning flattery,—her modesty in misliking it,—the laying open of their opinion to the world,—the truth of their friendship towards her,—the unwillingness of them both, in respect of their vocations, to have that *public work* not truly and well translated—were good causes to persuade that their allowance was of sincere truth and understanding. Besides the honour done to her sex, she had gratified the author of the Latin book, in delivering him from the perils of ambiguous constructions, and in making his good work more publicly beneficial; whereby she had raised up great comfort to her friends and had joyfully furnished her conscience with the fruit of her labour. Her example must needs redound to the encouragement of noble youth in their good education. God, he was sure, would accept her doing. Their most vir-

tuous and learned sovereign and mistress would honour the work with her commendation. And all noble gentlemen would hereby be allured from vain delights, to doings of more perfect glory." The Archbishop concluded by saying that "to the end, both to acknowledge his good approbation, and to spread the benefaction more largely, whereas her Ladyship had sent him her book *written*, he had, with most hearty thanks, returned it to her, as she saw, *printed*: knowing that he had, thereby, done for the best, and, in this point, used a reasonable policy: that is, to prevent such excuses as her modesty would have made, in staying the publication of it<sup>1</sup>."

It would be difficult to imagine a compliment at once more decided and more delicate than that which is conveyed by the closing words of this letter, and by the proceeding to which they allude. To print the work for general use, was the highest of all possible commendations. To print it without notice to the author herself, might, indeed, be a violation of confidence; but it was one which, doubtless, she would easily pardon; since it spared her the pain of a conflict with her own scrupulous humility. In order to render the performance more complete and useful, a short tract was drawn up, and subjoined to it, exhibiting the scheme of government, by which the Church of England, and her Universities, were administered. This paper, which is supposed to have been the composition of the Primate himself,

Archbishop  
Parker's Tract,  
subjoined to  
the Apology.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker, vol. i. p. 354, &c.

concludes with a statement of the purposes for which it was added to the *Apology*. "We thought good," it says, "to annex these things, to the end we might confute and confound those that spread abroad rumours, how that, with us, nothing is done in order, and as ought to be done; that there is no religion at all, no Ecclesiastical Discipline observed, no regard had of the salvation of men's souls; but that all is done quite out of order, and seditiously; that all antiquity is despised; that liberty is given to all sensuality and lust; that the livings of the Church be converted to profane and worldly uses. Whereas, in very truth, we seek nothing else but that God may have his honour truly and purely reserved unto him; that the rule and way of everlasting salvation may be taken from out of his very word, and not from other men's fantasies; that the sacraments may be ministered not like to a maskery, or stage-play, but religiously and reverently, according to the rule prescribed by Christ, and after the examples of the holy fathers, which flourished in the primitive Church; that the most godly form of discipline, which was commonly used among them, may be called home again; that the goods of the Church may not be launched out amongst worldlings and idle persons, but may be bestowed upon godly ministers and pastors, which take pain both in preaching and teaching; that there may, from time to time, arise up out of our Universities, learned and good ministers, and others meet to serve the commonwealth; and, finally, that all unclean and wicked life may be utterly abandoned and banished, as unworthy for the name of any Christian. And, albeit we are not yet able to obtain this, fully

and perfectly,—(for this same stable, as one may rightly call it, of the Romish Augeas, cannot so soon be thoroughly cleansed and rid from the long grown filth);—nevertheless, this is it whereunto we have regard; hither do we bend; to this mark do we direct our pain and travail; and that, hitherto, (through God's gracious favour), not without good success and plenteous increase. Which thing will easily appear to every one, if either we be compared with our own selves, in what manner of case we have been but few years since; or else, be compared with our false accusers, or rather, our malicious slanderers. The Lord defend his Church; govern it with his Holy Spirit; and bless the same with all prosperous felicity. *Amen* <sup>1</sup>."

It was not to be imagined that the challenge at St. Paul's Cross, followed up as it was by the Apology for the Church of England, would fail to raise up a host of adversaries against the Bishop of Salisbury. By this time the conflict was beginning seriously to thicken. The same year (1564), which was famous for the translation of his book into English, likewise produced a Popish answer to several of his main propositions. The author of this performance was one Thomas Dorman; who undertook to prove that the Pope's supremacy—the corporeal presence—the communion in one kind—and the practice of solitary masses—all were acknowledged and established within the six first centuries. The controversy against Dorman was vigorously

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker, vol. iii. p. 108—113. App. No. xxxii. Oxf. Ed.



carried on by Dean Nowell. In the mean time, many other writers were equally busy in behalf of the Romish system. Cope, Sanders, Stapleton, Rastal, Heskins, and various other names, derived a transient celebrity from their assaults on the mighty champion of the English Reformation. It must be confessed that he had exposed a prodigious length of line to their attacks. Instead of taking up his position on the solitary rock of Scripture, he claimed for his own an enormous range of primitive antiquity, and confidently defied the enemy to find one assailable point throughout the whole of it. It is impossible sufficiently to admire the boldness of this proceeding. At the same time it is obvious that so vast a scale of operations might enable the combined forces of the enemy to render the defence exceedingly perplexing and laborious; and occasionally, perhaps, to achieve a momentary appearance of advantage.

Of all the assailants, however, who stepped forth to do battle in this cause, there was only one whom the Bishop thought worthy of the honour of a personal conflict: and that one was the notorious Thomas Harding. The rest of his assailants, he appeared to regard as so many curs, whose barking and yelping might be safely and honourably despised. But Harding sprung upon him like a mastiff, that threatened to bring him down, if not vigorously shaken off<sup>1</sup>. As the controversy which ensued is among the most remarkable in our ecclesiastical history, it will be proper to give some account of the individual

Jewel's contro-  
versy with  
Harding.

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. pp. 193, 194



who ventured to stand forth as the antagonist of Jewel.

Thomas Harding, like Jewel, was a Devonshire man. He was born at Comb-Martin, in 1512. His earliest education

Harding's history and Character.

was at Barnstaple. From thence he was removed to Winchester, and afterwards to New College, Oxford; of which he became Fellow in 1536. In 1542, he was appointed by Henry VIII. to the Hebrew Professorship. His religious notions or professions, must therefore have, at least, kept pace with the proceedings of the king. When Edward came to the throne, however, his Protestantism assumed a much more decided aspect. In time, he was appointed chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, father of Jane Grey, and had the honour of instructing that ill-fated lady in the doctrines of the Reformation. The accession of Queen Mary in a moment reconverted him to Popery: and the chaplain of the Lady Jane now became the chaplain and confessor to Bishop Gardiner! His prompt *repentance* was rewarded, first by a stall at Westminster, and next by the Treasurership of the Cathedral of Salisbury. The death of Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth, were fatal to his preferments, but effected no change in his last religious profession. When the Romish cause became desperate in England, he retired to Louvain, in Flanders; where his time was chiefly employed in his controversy with Bishop Jewel, and where he died in the year 1572.

Of the vehemence of Harding's profession of the Protestant faith, in the days of Edward, some notion

may be formed from the representations of Humphrey, who was the contemporary biographer of Jewel, and to whom the whole history of the man was, doubtless, fully known. In speaking of Harding, as the opponent of Jewel, he exclaims—"This is he who under king Edward, protested, and preached, and swore, against the Pope—who, in the pulpit at Oxford, laughed at the Fathers of Trent, as so many illiterate and paltry priests<sup>1</sup>—who wished that a voice could be given him sonorous as a trumpet or the bell of Oseney, that it might ring in the dull ears of the Papists<sup>2</sup>, and that, like another Stentor, he might be heard, throughout the realm, to proclaim the superstitions of the Romish Church. This is he, who lavished all his powers of sarcasm in describing the painted flames and paper walls of purgatory: who called Rome a sink of uncleanness, and the Mass a heap of idolatry, and a mystery of iniquity; who both at home, and in his college seemed to preach

<sup>1</sup> "Illiteratos Pontificulos." Humphr. p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> This is confirmed by Jewel himself, in the following passage of his Defence: "Besides all this, ye bring us a word,—ye say,—*of greater sound*;—*In Romanâ Ecclesiâ semper viguit Apostolicæ Cathedræ Principatus*: In the Romish Church the *Princehood* of the *Apostolic* chair hath always flourished. Indeed *Princehood*, and *Apostolic*, be jolly large words, and carry *great sound*; almost as great as the bell of Frideswide: unto the sound of which bell, ye wished once, in your sermon in Oxford, that your voice had been comparable, that you might, as you said then, *ring out in the dull ears of the Papists*. These were your words. Ye may not forget them." Def. Apol. c. vi. div. i. Indeed, Jewel has repeated allusions to the notorious inconstancy of his antagonist.

the Gospel with evangelic purity ; and, if not more solidly, than others, at least with a greater show of sincerity and zeal : who outdid all, in the vehemence of his gestures, and the tossing of his hands, and the vigorous exercise of his arms, and the severity of his countenance, and the terror of his words. This is he, who was domestic chaplain to the illustrious Duke of Suffolk ; who frequently inculcated the divine truths of Scripture on the mind of the Lady Jane, of blessed memory ; who all but adored Peter Martyr, and was not content to attend his lectures in public, but often heard him preach in private, in the Italian tongue ; who, on his return from Italy said to that excellent man, Francis Guavarra,—“ like a merchant, I have been seeking pearls abroad, and, behold, I have found the most choice and precious pearl at home,—even Peter Martyr, whose learning is unrivalled throughout Europe.” This is the man, who now appears inflated with a new and sudden enthusiasm for Popery ; who professes that the study of the Fathers had both converted himself, and made him anxious for the conversion of others,—as if the perusal of the Fathers were a work of seven days ! This is he, who, on the turn of affairs, found a new Christ, a new Gospel, a new Law, a new Anathema against the preachers of the truth ; who demolished with his left hand what he had built up with the right. He, who was once the associate of Jewel in the ministry, now seeks to mangle his former colleague, his countryman, his friend, his brother, his other self ; proclaiming the man, with whom he was ordained, to be neither Bishop nor Priest ; and this, although he, Harding, had himself, as Prebendary, been party to

the election, and is said to have given his vote on that occasion <sup>1</sup>."

Whatever may be the indignant violence of this invective, the substantial truth of it was perfectly notorious. And we shall find, hereafter, that they are frequently adverted to by Jewel himself. There is one fact in the statement, which, if correctly represented, it may not be altogether unimportant to note. We are told that Harding assisted at the election of Jewel to the see of Salisbury. In that case he must have remained in England for some considerable time after it became certain that the Romish religion would be again overthrown; and must have taken his share in promoting to the prelacy the most formidable champion of opinions, which, instantly on the accession of Mary, Harding had abjured. If this were so, we must date his open polemical hostility to Jewel, from the period of his expulsion from his preferment in England, and his settlement among the Romanists at Louvain. If, therefore, he had been allowed to retain his opinions and his preferments without molestation, it is very doubtful indeed whether we should have heard anything of a controversy between him and his former associate and friend.

That the charge of shameful inconstancy was not exaggerated by Humphrey, may be collected from the long and impassioned letter addressed to Harding by Lady Jane Grey, in the year 1554, when she found that her honoured instructor in the Gospel had suddenly become a clamorous advocate for the bishop

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. pp. 138—140.

and church of Rome. This remonstrance, as it would appear, was despatched by her shortly before her own execution<sup>1</sup>; and it assuredly breathes all the earnestness and freedom of a soul which was soon to appear before the presence of God. Some expressions it undoubtedly contains, which would scarcely be warranted by the refinement of modern times. For instance, she exclaims, “ I cannot but marvel, and lament thy case, which seemed sometime to be a lively member of Christ, but now *the deformed imp of the devil*; sometime the beautiful temple of God, but now *the filthy kennel of Satan*; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the *unshamefaced paramour of Antichrist*; sometime my faithful brother, but now a stranger and an apostate; sometime a stout Christian soldier, but now a cowardly runaway. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee,—thou seed of Satan, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, the desire of life subverted, and made thee, of a Christian, an infidel!” If, however, such were the language in which an amiable and youthful female felt herself impelled to lash the duplicity of Harding, it is scarcely conceivable that the representations of him by Humphrey or by Jewel can have been too fiercely coloured. And there is the less ground for any such surmise, because the biographer of Jewel admits that, in other respects, his antagonist was by no means unworthy of him.

<sup>1</sup> It is given by Fox under the year 1554; and it was on the 12th of February in that year that she was beheaded. Fox, vol. iii. p. 27; ed. 1684.

He allows that in some things they are well matched, both of them being conspicuous for ability and eloquence.

Such was the man who came forward to bear the chief brunt of the encounter with the great Apologist of our Church. Tainted as he was with the infamy of his recent defection from the reformed faith, he, yet, appeared before the world with an undaunted front. His first adventure, however, was not an attack upon the Apology itself. He was first called forth by the challenge pronounced by Jewel from St. Paul's Cross, in the Lent of 1560. The "Answer" of Harding to that defiance was put forth in January, 1563; and was followed, in about two years and a half, by the Bishop's "Reply," which appeared in August, 1565, and produced a Rejoinder from Harding. A few months, however, before the publication of this "Reply," Harding had been again in the field; for his principal work, the "Confutation of a Book called an Apology for the Church of England," had come forth in April, 1565<sup>1</sup>. The "Confutation" again gave rise to Jewel's grand performance, the "Defence of the Apology;" of which the first edition appeared in October, 1567. In the course of the next year, 1568, Harding came forth again with a collection of cavils against the Bishop's "Defence." To this performance he prefixed the following lengthy and scurrilous title:—"A Detection of sundry foul Errors, Lies, Slanders, Corruptions, and other false Dealings, touching Doctrine, and other Matters, uttered and practised by Mr. Jewel, in a Book lately by him set forth,

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 50, note (5).



entitled, a Defence of the Apology, &c<sup>1</sup>." The work, however, was not of sufficient importance to demand a distinct publication in answer to it. Jewel accordingly delayed all notice of this "Detection" till the appearance of the second impression of the "Defence." This impression was completed in December, 1569, together with a preface, in which the despicable futility of Harding's "Detection" is calmly, but most triumphantly, exposed. The "Defence," at its first publication, was accompanied by an Epistle to the Queen; which, of itself, was a sufficient refutation of the falsehoods then circulated by the friends of Harding; namely, that the works of Jewel were published without the Royal sanction; and that her Majesty was displeased with him for disturbing the world with his controversial writings<sup>2</sup>.

Nothing, of course, could be more utterly hopeless than the attempt to convey to the reader, in a few words or sentences, any clear conception of the merits of this voluminous controversy<sup>3</sup>; which embraces

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 214; Oxf. ed.

<sup>2</sup> Humphr. p. 194. Eccl. Biog. vol. iv. p. 51. The Preface prefixed to the first edition of the Defence is dated on 17th October, 1567; the Epistle to Harding, at the end of the same edition, is dated on the 27th October, 1567. To the second edition is prefixed *another* Preface, "*containing the causes of this new impression.*" And this Preface, which relates entirely to Harding's "Detection, &c." is dated on the 11th December, 1569. See Jewel's Works, ed. 1611.

<sup>3</sup> The "Reply" to Harding's "Answer to the Challenge" contains 472 closely-printed folio pages; the "Defence of the Apology," contains 652, in the edition of 1611; being 1124 folio pages in the whole.



almost every important point in debate between the Church of Rome and the Church of England. Our notice of the conflict must, in this place at least, be purely historical. We shall, therefore, for the present, be satisfied with observing, that the dispute was conducted by Jewel in a spirit of perfect fairness and integrity. The method observed by him is precisely similar to that which was followed by Archbishop Cranmer in his controversy with Gardiner, relative to the Sacramental Doctrine. The paragraphs, or passages, from Harding's books are always printed immediately before the answers to them. The performance of his adversary is thus incorporated with his own; and the reader is enabled, with entire convenience, to compare the disputants with each other. It may, further, be mentioned that Jewel maintains, throughout, the serenity and self-possession which indicate a perfect mastery over his subject. There is no exhibition of petulance or irritation; no symptom of conscious weakness; nothing of the agitation by which men sometimes betray a want of confidence either in the goodness of their cause, or in their own capacity to do it justice. Every one who studies this controversy must arise from it with a persuasion, that the learned Bishop Reynolds said no more than the truth, when he affirmed that Harding was "no more able to subsist under the hand of his renowned and incomparable antagonist, than a whelp under the paw of a lion<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Reynold's Works, vol. ii. p. 77, Ed. 1826. Further remarks on this controversy are reserved for the ninth chapter of this volume.

Besides the main battle carried on by these two combatants, there was a slight skirmishing attempted by Harding, in the year 1565. In the month of May, Jewel, in a sermon delivered by him at St. Paul's Cross, had spoken in disrespectful terms of Harding's performance in answer to the Challenge. He, on that occasion, intimated his belief, that "Harding did inwardly allow the Gospel; that, in fact, he did but translate the books of other men; that he produced a multitude of learned fictions, and had relied on a distorted application of his authorities; that his proof of the Private Mass rested wholly on certain tales of old men, women, and boys; that, among other ancient authors vouched by him, was one Amphilochius, a worthless and apocryphal sort of writer, whom he, Jewel, had in his possession, bound up together with St. Thomas, the Popish martyr; and that he had gravely brought forward a story of Angels' singing *prick-song* to St. Basil's Mass<sup>1</sup>." When the report of this sermon reached Harding, he was at Antwerp; from which place he addressed a very angry letter to Jewel, demanding a copy of his sermon,—proclaiming himself fully able to vindicate the authorities produced by him,—and charging Jewel with "piecing-out a doctrine" from fragments of the fathers, and patches of old Councils. This letter was printed for circulation, accompanied by a Postscript "to the Reader," the main object of which is to advertise the public "what manner of pelfe must be stuffing of Jewel's huge volume then

1565.  
Harding's angry letter to Jewel.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. part ii. p. 176.

in the press ;" (namely, the " Reply" to Harding's " Answer <sup>1</sup> ").

Jewel's account  
of the contro-  
versy to Bullin-  
ger.

Whether Jewel thought fit to comply with this requisition, we are not informed. It may, here, however, be satisfactory to hear the account of this whole conflict, as given by himself in his correspondence with Bullinger. In a letter addressed to that divine, dated the first of March, 1565, after some unimportant preliminary matter, he adds — " Now attend to certain affairs of ours, in which I know you will take a more deep and friendly interest, than in other public concerns. In the first place, all things relating to religion, by the blessing of our Gracious and Almighty God, are, with us, in a peaceable condition. The Popish exiles are giving us all the trouble they can ; and, in their published works, aim at me alone ; whether from any ill deserts of mine, or from my evil destiny, I know not. Three of them have assailed me, at the same time, with most outrageous clamour. I must, alone, answer them all ; so that you are not to imagine that I have nothing to do. Among other things, the *Ubiquitarian* question is forced upon me ; which subject I have set forth copiously, to the best advantage in my power ; but in our own language, as being addressed to our own countrymen <sup>2</sup> ." Then follow certain notices relative to political affairs :

<sup>1</sup> This letter is printed in Strype's Ann. vol. i. part ii. pp. 524 — 527, App. No. xxx. Oxf. ed.

<sup>2</sup> It has been already noticed that Jewel never *published* any thing expressly on this question. If he had lived longer, the whole controversy might have been brought into this country.

and the letter concludes with some account of a crafty and unprincipled Irishman, who had been despatched into Ireland by the Pope, for the purpose of exciting commotions, but who was soon apprehended and sent to England: and thus, he adds, "the most Holy Father, since he is unable to move the Gods above, will stir up Hell beneath<sup>1</sup>." In the month of February, of the next year, 1566, he again writes to Bullinger, as follows: "It may appear affected," he says, "for me to ascribe my long silence to my own occupations. But yet, if you did but know my life, and all its cares, there would be no need of any other excuse. For, in addition to a load of incessant troubles—my own and other people's, domestic and public, ecclesiastical and civil—(from which no one in my office can be exempt in these times)—I am compelled, almost single-handed, to grapple with external enemies, to say nothing of domestic ones. The adversaries, to whom I allude, are, indeed, our own countrymen, but aliens from us in heart, and aliens, too, in the land they inhabit. For our refugees at Louvain began to be in violent commotion, during the last year; and to write most bitterly against us all. Me, they have attacked by name. *Why so?*—you will perhaps enquire. In truth, I know not; unless it be that they knew me to be, of all men, the most averse from strife, and the most unable to resist. Howbeit, I remember that,—six years ago, while preaching at Court, before the Queen's Majesty, touching the antiquity of our Popish religion,—I affirmed, among other things, that our adversaries

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. iii. pp. 347, 348. Rec. No. 85. Ed. 1715.

both did wrong us, and practised fraud upon the people, when they charged our cause with *innovation*: for that they maintained things that are new as if they were old, and had condemned things most ancient, as if they were novelties: that their private Masses, and their mutilated Communions, and their natural and local presences, and their transubstantiations, &c. (in which things the whole of their religion is contained), had no certain and express testimony either of Scripture or old Councils, or ancient Fathers, or of any thing that could be called antiquity."

"At all this they were in great indignation. They began to bark in holes and corners; and to call me a shameless, insolent, frantic, boaster. On the fourth year afterwards, one Harding came forward unexpectedly—(a man, who, not very long since, was a hearer and zealous follower of Peter Martyr, and a most active preacher of the Gospel, but now a vile apostate); who would fain refute me with supposititious authorities, and decretal epistles, and dreams, and fables. I replied to him last year (1565) according to my ability. But, gracious heaven, what a life is this! O that strife might perish for ever from among gods and men! Scarcely had I completed this work, when, suddenly there flies abroad a "Confutation" of my Apology; a vast and elaborate work, and horribly suffed with abuse, falsehood, and trickery. Here I am again assailed. What would you have? The man must be answered. So you perceive, my Reverend Father, we have no great abundance of leisure; I, more especially, whose lot it is—I know not by what destiny—to be always battling with these monsters. May the Lord endow us with

force and courage, and beat down Satan under our feet."

"Our country," he continues, "is at present free from all disturbance, either from foreign hostility, or from unsettlement of religion. The men of Louvain do what they can to molest us: but our people are faithful to their duty; and I have good hope for the future. Our Queen is in excellent health, and is utterly averse from marriage. I have not for the last three years seen Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich" (the first friend and patron of Jewel); "nor Sandys, the Bishop of Worcester; nor Pilkington, Bishop of Durham: so completely are we dispersed. We are all, however, safe and well, and not unmindful of you."

"The contest respecting the surplice—(*Contentio illa de veste Ecclesiasticâ lineâ*)—is not yet at rest. That matter still continues to disturb some feeble minds. And most heartily do I wish that all the faintest vestiges of the Papacy might be removed both from our temples, and, much more, from our thoughts. But, at this moment, the Queen is unable to endure any change whatever in matters of religion."

"The Scottish affairs are not yet reduced to a state of much quiet. Certain nobles of eminent name are exiles among us. Others remain at home and are preparing for resistance, in case violence should be attempted against them. They make occasional sallies from their castles, and seize upon what they can in the estates of the Papists.

1566.

The Queen, although inveterately devoted to Popery, scarcely knows whither to turn. For, with regard to religion, a great part of the nobility and the people are arrayed against her; and,



so far as we are able to learn, the number of her adversaries is daily increasing. Within the last few months the King Philip of Spain sent thither a certain Italian abbot, with Spanish gold,—a crafty person, and trained to fraudulent dealings; whose business was to aid the King and the Queen with his roguish devices, and to fill every thing with confusion. The new King, who had hitherto abstained from the Mass, and had punctually attended upon sermons, when he heard of the approach of the Spanish vessels, became suddenly more confident. Having resumed his courage, he would dissemble no longer. He enters the Church, he orders Mass to be said in his presence. At the same time, Knox, who is preacher in the next town, and the next Church, denounces, before a crowded congregation, the men who rave after idolatry, and assails, with all his usual power of invective, the Pontifical dominion. In the mean time, the ship of King Philip,—tossed with the winds and tempests, shattered with the waves, its mast sprung, its timbers stove in, and its pilots lost, bereft of crew and cargo,—is driven, a mere wreck, upon the English coast. I doubt not that this has happened by Divine Providence, in order that the infatuated King may perceive what an evil omened thing it is to hear the Mass.”

He concludes this letter in a way much to the credit of his liberality and good fellowship. It appears that Bullinger and Lavater had sent him copies of two works which they had respectively published; the one, a Commentary on Daniel, the other on Joshua. He here offers his warmest acknowledgments for their books, together with a substantial *honorarium* of



twenty crowns : which he begs them to use in providing a public entertainment, or in any other manner which they might prefer. At the same time, he despatched another twenty crowns, being the annual pension which he allowed to Julius, who had been the faithful attendant of his honoured and lamented friend, Peter Martyr<sup>1</sup>.

It may, at first, perhaps excite a smile to hear Jewel deploring, as he does in the above epistle, the burden imposed upon him by the controversies of the time. He had openly, repeatedly, and articulately, defied the Roman Catholics “to the utterance ;” and had stood forth, in the face of Europe, as the champion of the *schismatical* and *heretical* Church of his own country. And yet he here speaks, in the language of astonishment and complaint, of the hard fate which condemned him to an incessant conflict with the enemies of the truth ! It should be remembered, however, that his bodily constitution was delicate, and feeble, and exhausted by habits of intense study ; that the prodigies of toil and learning which distinguished his contest with Harding, were put forth within six or seven of the later years of his short life ; and that, all this while, he was deeply engaged in the care of a diocese, which of itself might have demanded the undivided energies of any but a most extraordinary man. When all these things are fairly considered, it will scarcely appear strange that Jewel should yield, at times, to feelings of dejection, and lament, to his intimate correspondents, the neces-

<sup>1</sup> This letter is in Strype's Ann. vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 542—545. App. No. xxxvi. Oxf. Ed. Its date is Feb. 8, 1566.

sity which compelled him to so severe and unre-mitted an exertion of his powers.

Jewel's notions  
respecting the  
habits, &c.

It appears, from this letter, that the clerical habit was still a cause of deep disquietude to the Bishop. He expresses his anxiety that every remnant of Popery might be swept away ; and regrets the obstinate aversion to change which was manifested by the Queen. After all, however, it seems tolerably clear that, if Jewel thought it folly to contend *for* the preservation of the clerical apparel, he thought it at least equally absurd to contend *against* it. In his defence of the Apology, against Harding, after some discussion on the subject of the habits, he says, " God's name be blessed, the religion of Christ may stand both with, and without, these things <sup>1</sup>." He would, doubtless, have been glad if all such reliques, as they were deemed by some, of the old superstition, could have been swept away by unanimous consent ; because the Church would then, as he imagined, have been relieved from one fruitful cause of vexation and strife. But it is absolutely certain that he considered the scruples of the non-conformists as furnishing no defensible ground, either for resistance to the established discipline, or for the rejection of ecclesiastical preferment. That this was his view of the matter is evident from his conduct in the case of Laurence Humphrey (afterwards his biographer), at the close of the year 1565. In the course of that year, Archbishop Parker had found it necessary to enforce, with some rigour, a conformity with the ceremonies of the

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. c. v. div. i.

Church, and the use of the clerical habit. Of those who resisted, the two most distinguished divines were Samson, the Dean of Christ Church, and Humphrey, President of Magdalene. They were both of them utterly inflexible. In vain did Grindal implore, with tears in his eyes, that they would but consent to wear the square cap, now and then, in the public meetings of the University<sup>1</sup>. In vain did the Primate urgently press them with the letters of the Queen,—the miserable effects of a licentious variety of usage, in all such matters,—the judgments of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr in favour of compliance<sup>2</sup>. The *Confessors* remained immoveable. Had the cap, and the surplice, implied the profession of witchcraft or idolatry, their abhorrence of those remnants of Papistry could scarcely have been more vehement. The methods of persuasion having failed, the law was allowed to take its course. Both were ordered into confinement, and Samson was deprived of the Deanery of Christ Church. Humphrey, being in a station somewhat less dignified, was, at length, allowed some liberty; and, although, he had made no submission, was presented by Horn, Bishop of Winchester, with a benefice in the diocese of Salisbury; possibly with the hope of smoothing down his stubbornness. It does not appear that the Archbishop offered any opposition to this appointment. The only difficulty which Humphrey experienced was from the stiffness of his friend and diocesan, Bishop Jewel; Jewel opposes the preferment of Humphrey for refusing them.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker, vol. i. p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 132.

who addressed a letter on the subject to the Archbishop, dated Dec. 22, 1565, in which he said, that, "in respect to Humphrey's *vain contention about apparel*, he thought it best to make a stay, till he understood his Grace's pleasure; and that, unless he should otherwise advise him by his letter, he minded not in any wise to receive him: adding, that his long suffering had given great offence." The Bishop also reminded Humphrey himself, that God is not the author of confusion but of peace; that diversity in the worship of God was no better than deformity; and that an obstinate resistance to established forms and customs was a just ground of deprivation. The reply of Humphrey to this remonstrance is not very intelligible. He protested that "his desire was not to innovate any thing that way; or to violate the ecclesiastical ordinances by thought, word, or counsel; and, that, when he preached, he should not transgress; that, therefore, if he offended not in his diocese, he trusted the Bishop would not be offended out of his diocese." He concludes by an appeal to the Bishop's personal feelings. This—he said—was the first living that had been ever granted him; and he added,—that his enjoyment of it now rested on the Bishop's *friendship*; that it would be grievous indeed to suffer shipwreck at the very mouth of the harbour; and so to verify the prophecy of somebody by the name of Saye, who had predicted that he would never get the benefice<sup>1</sup>!"

What was the final issue of this affair has not been

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker, vol. i. pp. 369, 370. Oxf. Ed.

recorded. It seems, however, that, in the course of five years after, Humphrey was made Dean of Gloucester; and that in 1576 his scruples had either melted away, or were beaten down; and that he, at last, consented to wear the habits<sup>1</sup>. The whole transaction, however, fully explains the notions and the feelings of Jewel. He considered the things themselves as trifles, which might as well be dispensed with, because they engendered contention, and tormented irritable consciences, or morbid imaginations, with reminiscences of Popery. On the other hand, however, his sound and masculine understanding revolted from the folly or the obstinacy which could magnify such gnats into camels. Though somewhat infected, himself, with the Genevan austerity, he could not endure that the caprice or the moroseness of that school should be allowed to bear down the discipline or the authority of the Church of England. And it was while his spirits were harassed with this conflict, that he spoke of the subject in the language above cited from his letter to Bullinger, written on the 8th February, 1566; not many weeks subsequent to his letter to the Primate, on the subject of Humphrey's contumacy.

In the March following (1566), Jewel had occasion to write again to Bullinger. He was, at that time, deeply engaged in preparing the "Defence of his Apology;" and his object was to obtain information relative to the following points:—1. Whether the Christians dispersed throughout Greece, Asia, Syria, Armenia, and other

Jewel's questions to Bullinger.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker, *ibid.*—Ann. vol. i. part ii. p. 144, 145.

parts of the East, use private Masses, such as are every where customary among the Papists? Also, what kind of Masses, whether public or private, are in use among the Greeks at Venice?—2. Whereas there was one *Camotensis* occasionally cited, who had written with much acrimony against the insolence and evil life of the Popes, who was this *Camotensis*; of what order was he; and at what time did he live?—3. What was Bullinger's opinion relative to the German Council, which was said to have been held under Charlemagne against the Second Council of Nice, concerning images? For there were some who confidently averred that no such Council ever existed." He expresses his full persuasion that the various learning of Bullinger will enable him to furnish an answer to these inquiries; and adds that the application is made to him, as almost the only remaining *Oracle of the Churches*<sup>1</sup>. Whether the *Oracle* gave any response, on this occasion, we are not apprised. From the language of the "Defence," it would appear that Jewel was unable to satisfy himself respecting the more modern usage of the Eastern Church, in the celebration of the Eucharist; but he shows very clearly that, if any such practice as that of private or solitary Masses had crept in, it was in manifest opposition to the highest and most ancient authorities of that Church<sup>2</sup>. With regard to the personage called *Camotensis*, he was more successful in his researches; though, by making a mistake in the name,

<sup>1</sup> The letter is in Strype, Ann. vol. i. part ii. p. 545. App. No. xxxvii. Oxf. ed.

<sup>2</sup> See the "Defence, &c." pt. v. c. xv. div. i. p. 510. Ed. 1611.



he incurred much idle pleasantry from his antagonist. He was gravely charged by Harding with naming *Johannes Camotensis* for *Johannes Carnotensis*: and this stupendous blunder was actually paraded through four whole pages of the "Detection!" "If, however," says Jewel, "he like not the one name, let him hardly take the other. Certainly, Ghesnerus, in his Epitome, and Cornelius Agrippa, (*De Vanitate Scientiarum*), call him, as I do, *Johannes Camotensis*. But, be it *Camotensis*, be it *Carnotensis*, or what you will, his words be even as I allege them:—'In the Church of Rome sit the Scribes and Pharisees. The Pope himself is now become intolerable. There is no tyrant who ever came up to the pomp and arrogance of the Pope. The Legates of the Pope are so outrageous in the provinces, that it seems as if Satan had gone forth from the face of the Lord, to scourge the Church. They violently wrest the Scriptures, that they may have a plenitude of power.' Let Mr. Harding grant thus much, and use names at his pleasure<sup>1</sup>." Most of the *foul errors detected* by Harding are of the same atrocity as the above. With respect to the "Germanic Council,"—which forms the third subject of Jewel's inquiry, and the existence of which the Romanists found it convenient to question,—it is

<sup>1</sup> Jewel's Preface to the "new impression" of the *Defence*. Works, ed. 1611. There can be no doubt that the person in question was the celebrated John of Salisbury, who, towards the close of his life, was promoted to the see of Chartres, and was therefore sometimes entitled *Johannes Carnotensis*. The words ascribed to him by Jewel are to be found, partly in his conversation with Pope Adrian IV., related by him in his *Policraticus*, lib. vi. c. xxiv., and partly in lib. v. c. xvi. of the same work.



beyond dispute that such an assembly was convoked at Frankfort, by Charlemagne, in the year 794; and that it condemned, unanimously and strongly, the service and adoration of images; in defiance of the opinion of the Roman Pontiff Adrian, and the decrees of the Second Nicene Council <sup>1</sup>.

Degree of D.D.  
conferred on  
Jewel.

It must here be mentioned, that in the course of the year 1565, Jewel became a Doctor of Divinity. This degree had been conferred upon him by the University of Oxford, as a tribute to his learning and his worth: and the honour was rendered more gratifying by the circumstance, that it was bestowed unsolicited, and in his absence. Soon after he had been invested with this distinction, he was called upon to act as Moderator at the disputations held in the theological schools, on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's celebrated visit to the University. It is almost needless to add that he acquitted himself in a manner fully corresponding to his high reputation <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mosh. cent. xiii. Gibbon, c. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Humphr. pp. 242, 245.

## CHAPTER VII.

1566—1571.

*Abuses of licensed preachers—Dissensions respecting ceremonies, and clerical habits—Letters of Jewel to Archbishop Parker, relative to Saxon Books—Jewel's "View of the Seditious Bull, &c."—Proceedings against the Puritans—Letters of Zanchius to the Queen on their behalf—His Letter to Jewel—Jewel's Sermon at Paul's Cross on the existing disorders—His Paper on certain objections of the Puritans—His memory coarsely assailed by them.*

AT this time, the Church of England, though purified in doctrine, was, in some other respects, in a state of such disorder and unsettlement, that the government of it tasked, to the very utmost, the patience and the discretion of the Primate, assisted as he was by many Bishops of distinguished energy and zeal. One deplorable exigency was the dearth of intelligent and well educated men to occupy the parochial pulpits. In order to remedy, or at least to palliate, this evil, the Archbishop had recourse to a measure, the prudence of which may, at this day, appear to be somewhat questionable. He granted licences to certain individuals to preach throughout the kingdom. This roving

1566.  
Abuses of  
licensed  
preachers.

commission seems to have been most shamefully abused. The persons entrusted with it were generally men, who, to all outward seeming, were discreet and sober-minded, and well disposed to comply with the discipline of the Church as established by authority. But no sooner were they in possession of their powers, than they showed themselves utterly unworthy of the cause which they had been employed to honour and to advance. They manifested much of the intrusive temper which, in former times, had made the Mendicant Orders the plague of Christendom. They ranged, at will, from parish to parish. They were frequently active in exciting contempt and disaffection against the established order of religion. They often superseded the ministrations of the resident clergy, who were under the necessity of yielding to the licences with which the strangers were armed : and they, further, resembled the begging friars in the practice of levying contributions on their hearers. They usually demanded payment for their sermons, and thus burdened the people with considerable charges, in addition to the support of their local ministers. Nay, the curates themselves were partially seized with the contagion of itinerancy : for it was a common practice with many of the worst of them to shift from one diocese to another ; and thus to transfer, from place to place, the curse of their ignorance, or their Popery, or their Puritanism, or their scandalously evil lives<sup>1</sup>.

The Archbishop soon found it necessary to recall the licences, which had been thus converted into

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker, vol. i. p. 376, 377. Oxf. ed.

instruments of confusion ; and to issue an order that, in future, no licence should be granted without binding the holder of it *to abstain from all disturbance of the religion publicly established*. He further appointed that no curate should be allowed to migrate from one diocese to another, without a testimonial from the ordinary of the diocese in which he had last officiated.

These new regulations were but tardily obeyed. The licences were found far too convenient and profitable to be easily given up. That the diocese of Jewel was not exempt from this pernicious and obstinate abuse, is evident from a letter addressed by him to the Primate, in which he says—"There are certain that have received your Grace's licences : and these men pass up and down, from church to church, preaching every where, as if they were Apostles. And, by virtue of your Grace's Seal, they require money for their labours. I will stay one or other of them, if I can, that your Grace may know them better." As this letter is dated on the 22d of December, 1565, it may reasonably be presumed that Jewel, as well as other Bishops, had this crying evil still to contend with, in the following year, 1566.

Another cause of confusion, which was then beginning to distract the kingdom, has been occasionally adverted to before, in the course of the present narrative.

Dissensions respecting ceremonies and clerical habits.

The scruples of the party, since known by the title of *Puritans*, relative to the lawfulness of ceremonies and clerical attire, were beginning to assume a formidable shape : and it was a most disastrous circumstance that the cause of Non-conformity should

find two leaders so distinguished by their learning and their piety as Sampson and Humphrey. The names of such men gave incredible force to the insurrectionary movement, which was then setting in against the authority and discipline of the Church, and which, eventually, effected the temporary downfall both of the Altar and the Throne. By these men, and men of the same stamp, the true spirit of our Reformation appears to have been well nigh forgotten. It never was the intent of our original Reformers to present the Church of England to the public mind under the aspect of a new establishment, substituted in the place of an old one which had been subverted and demolished. The Church of England, to which all their toils and cares were devoted, was the very same Church which had existed from the beginning; and their object was, not to sweep it from the face of the earth, and to plant another on its site: but to cleanse it from superstitious corruptions, and to effect its deliverance from a shameful servitude. Conformably to these views, it was their desire, as nearly as they could without any compromise of principle, to assimilate the exterior of religion to what it had been in the days of Romanism; and so, to avoid the needless exhibition of a repulsive contrast between the imposing solemnities of the ancient worship, and the dreary meanness and poverty of the new. These sound views, it is well known, were fortunately seconded by the feelings and the temper of Queen Elizabeth. She inherited from her father a love of magnificence and state, and was unable to endure the thought of stripping the service of God of all those visible attributes, which often

powerfully affect the heart through the medium of the senses. Had she been left entirely to her own inclinations, it is probable, indeed, that the offices of the Church might have retained somewhat more of the ancient grandeur, than might be altogether consistent with the genuine simplicity of a spiritual worship. As it was, however, nothing was preserved beyond what was required for the sober dignity of the National Religion; nothing but what was needful for the purpose of relieving from utter disgust, those Roman Catholics, who might otherwise be still disposed to adore God, in places where their forefathers had worshipped for ages, and where the dust of their forefathers had been laid. Unfortunately, however, many of our Protestant exiles brought back with them, from Geneva and from Zurich, notions at mortal variance with the wisdom of our more moderate Reformers. They, too many of them, seemed to consider the Reformation as neither more nor less than the introduction of a totally new system, which should have nothing whatever in common with that which had passed away. With them, the Church of England was a fabric, not merely to be repaired and simplified upon sound Protestant principles, but to be built up from the very ground, on new foundations. Their imaginations were possessed with what they conceived to be the primitive model of Christian worship; and their consciences were inflamed, even to rancour, against every shred or remnant, which could possibly remind the people that such a thing as Romanism had ever existed in the realm. To such persons, every superficial relique of the former superstition was no better than an *accursed*

thing. The surplice and the square cap were badges of the servitude which had been recently thrown off; and, not only so, but they were treacherous invitations to an attempt for its renewal. Out of these prejudices and scruples, had arisen a diversity of practice which was beginning to render the Reformation contemptible in the eyes of the public, and to afford an open triumph to the Papal party<sup>1</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> See Madox's Vindication, pp. 155, 156, where we find the following exhibition of the disgraceful irregularities occasioned by a lax enforcement of the Act of Uniformity, from a paper of Lord Burghley's:—

“Some say the service and prayer in the chancel; others in the body of the church. Some say the same in a seat made in the church; some in the pulpit, with their faces to the people. Some keep precisely the order of the book; others intermeddle psalms in metre. *Some say with a surplice, others without a surplice.*

“The table standing in the body of the church in some places; in others it standeth in the chancel. In some places the table standeth altar-wise, distant from the wall a yard; in others, in the middle of the chancel, north and south. In some places the table is joined; in others it standeth upon tressels. In some, the table hath a carpet; in others it hath none.

“Some with surplice and cap; some with surplice alone; others with none. Some with chalice; some with communion cup; others with a common cup. Some with unleavened bread; others with leavened.

“Some receive kneeling; others standing; others sitting.

“Some baptize in a font; some in a basin. Some sign with the sign of the cross; others sign not. Some ministers in a surplice; others without.

“Some with a square cap; some with a round cap; some with a button cap; some with a hat. Some with scholars' clothes; some with others.”

All this was the result of leaving these indifferent matters to *private discretion!* And this is the state in which, we are



effect of all this dissension was unspeakably calamitous. Some forsook the Churches because the habits were used ; others, again, because the habits were not used<sup>1</sup>. All reasonable and sober-minded persons were disgusted at the disorder which prevailed ; while the Romanist was loud in his denunciation of it, as at once the inevitable result and the righteous punishment, of a national defection from the Apostolic unity !

It has sometimes been lamented that matters of this description were not left to private discretion. A few indifferent usages, it is said, might have been retained, for a time, in order to soften the aspect of religious innovation ; but this should have been no more than a temporary policy ; and, after a time, it would have been prudent to relax the offensive regulations. In other words, it became the state and the hierarchy to propitiate the Roman Catholics by the preservation of certain exterior solemnities of religion ; but to cast them away to the moles and the bats, the instant the non-conformists became sufficiently clamorous and insolent ! The inevitable consequence of this sort of liberality, would have been, to exhibit the Church of England, habited in such a motley collection of shreds and patches, as to

sometimes told, a wise and liberal policy would have left the Church of England. General toleration, undoubtedly, is the only safe expedient for keeping *the Church* clear of such ridiculous irregularities. But toleration was, then, utterly unknown to all parties. And to none was it so little known as to the Puritans ; who, at length, stigmatized the established religion as nothing else but Popery in disguise.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. iii. p. 306. Ed. 1715.

invite the scorn of the whole world. There never yet was a religious community known to tolerate such unseemly anomalies within its own pale: and it is beyond measure astonishing that any one, who did not desire to see religion made utterly ridiculous, should be anxious to behold such indecent confusion, either established by authority, or endured by connivance. Did it never occur to the scrupulous party, that, in the change or retrenchment of externals, the Church must stop somewhere?—that, without exposing herself to general derision, she cannot be *perpetually* altering the visible fashion of her worship, to suit the varying caprices of self-willed and discontented men?—and that, if she is to provide for edification, she must think of edifying, not merely a portion of the people, but the great majority of those in communion with her? And did they not know, that, if there were some, who thought the service of God encumbered by certain useless remnants of Papistry, there was a vastly greater number who thought that even more of the outward form and comeliness of religion might have been usefully and beneficially retained?

With respect to the question of the clerical habiliments, in particular, it is cordially to be wished that the English precisians had condescended to learn moderation from the Helvetic divines, whom they professed to revere and imitate. When Bullinger was consulted on this matter, his own disapprobation of the habits did not withhold him from a decided recommendation to conformity. Deeply as he respected the rights of conscience, his urgent admonition was, that *no man should frame a conscience for*

*himself out of the spirit of contentiousness.* He reminded his brethren, that the sacerdotal habits were not originally introduced by the Pope (so that they could not reasonably be called the rags of Popery); that if Protestants were to have nothing in common with the Romanists, it would be difficult indeed to say where the retrenchments might end; that the use of appropriate habits for the clergy had never been abolished by the Reformation; and that, at the present time, it was not retained in conformity with any Papal law, but wholly by virtue of the Royal edict; and this, not as a matter essential in itself, but nevertheless as becoming and expedient<sup>1</sup>. We have here the genuine dictates of that wisdom which is pure and peaceable; without partiality, and without hypocrisy. It is truly wonderful that these moderate counsels should have made no impression upon the untractable recusants. Such, however, was the fact. And, it must, accordingly, be left to the judgment of all candid and reasonable men, to pronounce which party, under all the circumstances of the case, may be more righteously loaded with the imputation of bigotry;—they who resisted the government, (to use their own phraseology,) for the sake of *woollen and linen*; or they who felt that, in sacrificing the *woollen and the linen*, they should virtually be surrendering the integrity and order of the whole establishment?

<sup>1</sup> See Burnet, vol. iii. Records No. 77.—p. 325. Ed. 1715. The correspondence between the English and the Helvetic divines on this subject may be found in Burnet. Ib. Records, No. 75 to No. 88.

That the *spirit of contentiousness* did enter very largely into the dispute, is manifest from the whole of its subsequent history. The Puritans could plead loudly for *toleration*, when they were comparatively weak; but after they had gained strength, they denounced all *toleration*, as nothing but an artifice used to preserve and protect the fragments of the Babylonian superstition<sup>1</sup>. Dispensations and licences they utterly despised. The wrath of Heaven was to be averted from the kingdom by nothing short of the complete establishment of the godly discipline of Geneva. It is not, indeed, to be denied, that many of the non-conformists were eminently gifted, and animated by a spirit of the most fervid piety. But, whatever may have been their perfections, it is impossible to number among them the grace of a truly meek and charitable temper. However transcendent may have been their merits, as individual members of society, their conduct, as a party, was captious and turbulent beyond endurance. It must have required more than human patience and long-suffering, on the part of the government, both ecclesiastical and civil, to look with composure on their manifold artifices of sedition. And (with reference to the question of the habits)—if, as some have maintained, the love of the surplice converted the Bishops into persecutors, it is scarcely too much to say that the hatred of the surplice went far towards converting the Puritans into traitors.

A very detailed or lengthened notice of these dissensions scarcely falls within the province of a bio-

<sup>1</sup> See Madox, pp. 286—288.

grapher of Jewel. His time was so much engaged with the Popish controversy that he had but little leisure for quarrels and discussions relative to the mere integuments of religion. That the subject occasionally, and very painfully, occupied his thoughts, is obvious from the passages already produced from his correspondence. But it does not appear that he was, at this period, among the prelates more immediately and actively employed in the adjustment of these disputes; or that he carried on any correspondence with the divines of Zurich, with an express view to this particular subject. The matter, when mentioned at all, is introduced by him quite incidentally; though in such a manner as to intimate, with sufficient clearness, what was the complexion of his own thoughts upon the contest.

From this period till towards the close of his life, the memorials of Jewel are but scanty. He was constantly engaged in the care of his diocese, and also, probably, in revising the Defence of his Apology, the second impression of which, with considerable additions, was not completed by him till the end of 1569. At the beginning of 1568 we find  
1568.  
two letters addressed by him to Archbishop Parker, on a subject of considerable interest. The Primate, about that time, had received a commission from the Queen, investing him with the especial oversight and conservation of ancient national records and monuments, relative to the affairs both of England and Ireland; and requiring all private persons, who might be in possession of such documents, to allow the Archbishop the temporary use

of them, with a view to their examination. The Bishops, of course, were ready to give their assistance towards so useful a project, without any such requisition from the Queen. Among the rest, application was made to Jewel. When he was in London, some time previously to an approaching visitation of his diocese, he received very kind attentions from the Archbishop; who took that opportunity of requesting that he would cause the library of his cathedral to be diligently searched, for the purpose of discovering whether it contained any books or manuscripts which might be serviceable towards the accomplishment of his designs; and, more especially, whether any Saxon writings were to be found there. The following letter will show his prompt attention to the Primate's desire:

“My duty most humbly premised, with like thanks for your Grace's favour to my late being there: It may please your Grace to understand, that, according to my promise, I have ransacked our poor library of Salisbury, and have found nothing worthy

Letters of Jewel  
to Archbishop  
Parker, rela-  
tive to Saxon  
books.

of the finding, saving only one book written in the Saxon tongue; which I mind to send to your Grace by the next convenient messenger. The book is of reasonable bigness, well near as thick as the Communion book. Your Grace hath three or four of the same size. It may be Alfricus, for all my cunning. But your Grace will soon find what he is. Other certain books there are of Rabanus and Anselmus; but, as common, so also, of little worth. If I had any leisure, I would send your Grace the titles of all.



But, as now, I am entering on the visitation of my diocese. By the way, if I learn of any antiquities, I will do your Grace to understand. Thus I humbly take my leave; from Sarum, the 18th of January, 1568.—Your Grace's most humble,

“JO. SARUM.”

After his return from his visitation, he despatched the Saxon book to the Archbishop, and with it another letter, to the following effect :

“ After my most humble commendations. Being now newly returned from the visitation of my diocese, and having this convenient messenger, I thought it my duty to perform my promise. And, therefore, have sent your Grace that hidden treasure that we had in our library. Whether it be Alfricus, or no, or what matter it containeth, your Grace will judge. I have made inquiry for such antiquities, as I passed through my clergy, on this visitation; but as yet I can find nothing. If there be any thing found, I shall have understanding of it. I will not forget to write to Mr. Bullinger. And, if your Grace shall command me to others else, I am always ready. Thus I humbly take my leave; from Sarum, the 31st of January, 1568.—Your Grace's most humble,

“JO. SARUM.”

The book in question was a folio in vellum, elegantly written, and containing the tract of Pope Gregory, *de Curá Pastoralí*, in four books; and turned, in the way of Paraphrase, into the Saxon language by King Alfred. Prefixed to the tract, is a preface by Alfred himself, together with a poem addressed to



the reader : both rendered from the Saxon into Latin, by some more modern translator, supposed to be William Lombard. At the end of the book are presented the above two letters of Bishop Jewel<sup>1</sup>; which show, at least, his readiness to aid the enlightened labours of the Archbishop, for the collection and preservation of our Saxon and other monuments of antiquity ; which, but for his zeal and munificence, would have been in great danger of utterly perishing<sup>2</sup>. What were the matters respecting which he was desirous that Jewel should correspond with Bullinger has not been ascertained.

1570.

The next occasion which brought Jewel prominently before the public, occurred in the year 1570. In the year preceding (1569), the Pope, Pius V., had privately despatched into England a Bull, by which he deprived the Queen of all title to her kingdom ; absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance ; and charged them not to obey her, on pain of his curse and excommunication. This atrocious instrument was more publicly produced in the year 1570 ; and was actually fixed by one Felton to the Bishop of London's Palace gates. At the time when this outrage was committed, Jewel was in the midst of a course of expository sermons, or lectures, on the epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, delivered by him in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury<sup>3</sup>. He instantly seized the opportunity of exposing to his

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker, vol. i. pp. 523—525, and vol. ii. 506.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* vol. i. pp. 455. 497.

<sup>3</sup> Garland's Preface, prefixed to the "View of the Seditious Bull." Works. Ed. 1611.

people the enormous impiety of this public instigation to treason and rebellion. He accordingly composed a Tract, which he entitled, "A View of a Seditious Bull sent into England;" from the opening of which it may be collected, that it was more immediately addressed to the same congregation which had heard his exposition. It begins in the following manner: "Whiles I opened to you the words of the Apostle, (*That day shall not come, except there come a departing first, and that man of sin be disclosed, even the son of perdition; which is an adversary, and is exalted above all that is called God, or is worshipped; so that he shall sit, as God, in the temple of God, and bear in hand that he is God*),—there came to my hands the copy of a Bull, lately sent into this realm by the Bishop of Rome. I read it, and weighed it thoroughly; and found it to be a matter of great blasphemy against God, and a practice to work much unquietness, sedition, and treason against our blessed and prosperous government. For it deposeth the Queen's Majesty, (whom God long preserve) from her royal seat, and teareth the crown from her head. It dischargeth all us, her natural subjects, from all due obedience. It armeth one side of us against another. It emboldeneth us to burn, to rob, to spoil, to kill, and to cut one another's throat. It is much like that box which Pandora sent to Epimetheus, full of hurtful and unwholesome evils. Are you desirous to hear it? It grieveth me to disclose, and your godly ears will hardly abide, his unseemly speeches. Yet, seeing he hath written them, and hath conveyed his copies thereof, to work the mischief he hath intended;

Jewel's "View of the Seditious Bull," &c.

I may the better rehearse them unto you, if, withal, your discretion provide to season them with the fear of God, and with due obedience unto our dread sovereign ; using these as the wholesome meal of *Eliseus*, to preserve from infection in the tasting of these wild gourds. Then shall you, by this Bull, espy out *Antichrist* ; even that man of sin, the son of perdition, who is exalted above all that is called God, or is worshipped. The matter is long. Pope Pius hath bestowed some pains in writing of falsehood. Let us take some pains in hearing truth."

Having thus prepared his hearers, he proceeds to an elaborate dissection of this impious manifesto. He resolves the whole into a series of impudent falsehoods ; and holds up to merited execration the satanic malice and arrogance which dictated it. Like all other instruments of the same kind, it was conceived precisely in the spirit of the tempter,—*all these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me*. Nay—the insolence of it was, if possible, still more blasphemous than that of Satan himself ; for it declared that, as the Queen had refused to worship the Pope, her kingdom should be taken from her, and she herself delivered over to a curse. It is true that Europe had been, for ages, tolerably familiar with these eruptions of the very wantonness of impiety. Jewel, however, makes little or no allusion to the frenzy of any former Pope. He takes this document even as he finds it ; and treats it, merely upon its own merits, just as if no such excess of folly and madness had ever burst upon the world, in any former age. And, herein, he acted most judiciously. England was, now, for the most part, Pro-

testant. The pretensions of the Papacy had been repeatedly abjured by the national legislature. The reigning Queen was a Protestant sovereign. After she had been twelve years upon the throne, there comes forth a paper from Rome, pronouncing her an usurper, and impelling her subjects to treason. Under these circumstances, it would have been to no purpose to waste the public indignation upon the atrocities of any former Pontiff. The grand object was, to show the people, that there existed, at that moment, an Italian Bishop, who dared to dispose of their allegiance, according to his own good pleasure, and to denounce the sovereign who ruled in the hearts of Englishmen, as a desperate rebel against the authority of Heaven; that there was enthroned upon the seven hills, a portentous power, which, in spite of the agony through which this country had struggled to her Reformation, ventured to declare their monarch a bastard, an invader of the empire, and an enemy to Christ in the person of his vicegerent: and, further, that the monstrous edict, which proclaimed these things, was openly fixed upon the gates of the Bishop of the first city in her empire. This was the one fact which demanded their attention. There might be people abroad, who deemed the supremacy thus exerted to be a fundamental article of revealed religion. But the days of this infatuation were well nigh passed away in England. No matter, therefore, whether the same thing had ever been attempted before. The enterprise might fitly be dealt with, in the presence of men of the Reformation, precisely as if it were a most outrageous novelty.

To repeat the exposure of these extravagant ab-

surditities, might possibly appear, at the present day, to be like slaying the slain : and yet it may not be improper to point out, even to the present generation, one of the principal texts relied upon by the Pontiff and his adherents, as a conclusive authority in support of the Papal domination. It may be important to advert to this perversion of Scripture ; because it betrays such an almost incredible contempt for the human understanding, that it ought, at all times, to be resented as an insult to mankind. The text in question is the following passage from the Prophet Jeremiah :—*Behold, I have set thee, this day, over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant.* This, as Jewel observes, is literally the only place in Scripture, produced by the Pope, throughout the whole of his Bull ; and, upon the strength of it, he claimed a right to let slip the dogs of anarchy and civil war upon the fair and prosperous realm of England ! The preacher, accordingly, goes on to a copious discussion of this passage, in order to make manifest the outrageous folly and profaneness of its application to the Papacy. Without following him through his examination of the text, it may be sufficient for us to remark, in the first place, that whatever authority these words may have conferred upon a Prophet who lived six hundred years before Christ, they could confer none upon the Christian Bishop of Rome ; unless it could be proved that the Bishop of Rome was permanently invested with all the powers which, from time to time, may have been bestowed on the Prophets, for special purposes, and on particular occasions. In the second

place, however, it is obvious, that, by these words, Jeremiah was armed with no personal commission to throw down kingdoms, or to build them up. The passage imports no more than this,—that the Prophet was enjoined to proclaim, with authority, the whole counsel of God, touching the fate of sinful and idolatrous nations. That this is so, will be irresistibly clear to any one who looks back to the preceding verses. From these it appears that the priest of Anathoth timidly shrunk from the office to which the Lord has ordained him from his mother's womb. Upon which the Lord said unto him—*Say not, I am a child; for thou shalt go to all that I send thee, and whatsoever I command thee, thou shalt speak. Be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord. Then the Lord put forth his hand, and touched my mouth. And the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth. See, I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant.* (Jerem. i. 4—10.)—The reasoning of the Pope must accordingly stand thus:—The Prophet Jeremiah was appointed to announce the ruin which was hanging over those kingdoms whose sins had ripened them for destruction; *therefore*, the Patriarch of Rome is empowered to absolve subjects from their obedience, and to declare their rulers to be usurpers and outcasts.

It is, in truth, most melancholy and humiliating to reflect that the mind of man should ever have been so enfeebled and degraded as to acquiesce in this blasphemous perversion of Scripture. The Roman Catholics of more modern times—those of them, at



least, who are subjects of the British empire—appear to be so sensible of the enormity of the Papal pretensions, that their language on that subject is strangely moderate, when compared with that of their remote predecessors. They are aware, it may be presumed, that the assertion of these claims would, at the present day, and in this country, bring nothing but derision and contempt upon their cause. They, accordingly, sometimes speak of these assumptions of power as matters wholly unessential to the integrity of their system: and they, moreover, assure us, that, even in the days of Elizabeth, the fulminations of the Pope had become well nigh innocuous; and that the time was past when his sentence of excommunication was formidable to princes. All this is very easily affirmed. Such propositions, however, must always be understood with certain limitations, which, if carefully examined, would be found to reduce them nearly to insignificance. The thunders of the Vatican may, even in that age, have lost a considerable portion of their force. But still they may be said to have resembled spent balls, which, though deprived of their original and resistless momentum, nevertheless retain the power of inflicting a desperate amount of damage. It may be true, that the Pope could no longer hurl the sovereigns of Europe from their seats, or lay their kingdoms under the curse of an effective interdict. But, if he could no longer do all this, he could do that which was pernicious in the next degree. He could convert their towns and provinces into nurseries of conspiracy and treason. He could infest their courts with emissaries and spies. He could heap combustibles beneath the thrones which his light-



nings were unable to consume. And this he could do, by means of the formidable remains of that very prerogative, which, at one time, brought monarchs barefoot and naked to his stirrup. The voice, which pronounced any king or queen to be a rebel against him, could fill the realm with preachers of sedition, enveloped in every variety of masquerade, by which detection could be baffled. It could set in motion a secret, and almost omnipresent, agency, to haunt every corner of society, and to spread distrust and terror throughout the land. It could confer the dignity of martyrdom on perfidy and assassination. It could confound the eternal distinctions between righteousness and iniquity. And, if it could not interrupt the open exercise of religious worship, or of civil rights, it could lay its *interdict* on the jurisdiction of conscience, and suspend the supremacy of all moral principle. In short, if the Papal Power could no longer go abroad like the noon-day plague or dæmon, it could creep about the world like the pestilence that walketh in darkness. And if this were so, it would be difficult to show that any Government could be armed with powers much too sweeping for the purpose of arresting its ravages.

That these effects were the natural result of the sentence of excommunication is remarked by Jewel himself among the closing *mementos* of his treatise. "Remember," he says, "that the Pope hath conference with traitors in all countries; that he raiseth subjects against their princes, and causeth princes to plague their subjects; that he hath no regard to the stranger and the fatherless; that he suffereth Jews and harlots to live in wealth and peace with him at

Rome, and yet will not suffer a Christian and lawful princess to live in the peace of her own country. He is the procurer of rebellion and dissension in the land. Let these things never be forgotten. Let your children remember them for ever."

At the same time, however, in a strain of fervid religious eloquence, he contends that the gracious Providence of God had often manifested itself in "commending the poisoned chalice to the lips" of the murderer, and in heaping blessings upon the destined victims of his malice. "What success," he asks, "take the Pope's blessings and his curses? He stirred the King of France to plague his subjects; and, to that purpose, he blessed him and his followers;—they and their country were brought to great misery. He blessed Philip, King of Spain;—he hath been wonderfully troubled with the Moors at home, and liveth in continual turmoil with his subjects in other his dominions abroad. He blessed the States of Venice;—they are disquieted by the Turk. On the other side,—he hath accursed England;—thanks be to God, it was never better in worldly peace, in health of body, in abundance of corn and victuals. He hath accursed the Princes and States of Germany;—they were never stronger. He blesseth his own side; but it decayeth and withereth. He curseth the Gospel; but it prevaieth and prospereth. The more he curseth, the more it prospereth. This is the Lord's doing; and it is marvellous in our eyes. So doth God turn the Pope's curse into a blessing unto us. And so, we may well say, with Seneca, *Cœlestis ira quos premit, miseros facit; humana nullos*. The anger of God maketh those miserable

upon whom it lighteth; but so doth not the wrath of man." Again,—after a glowing description of the excellence of the Queen's government,—he exclaims, "This is she, against whom Pope Pius rageth and stormeth, and hath sent his curse, and sentence of deprivation against her! If he had been acquainted with our happy estate under her, he might, with better grace, have said unto her, *Because thy God loveth England, to establish it for ever, therefore hath he made thee Queen over them, to execute judgment and justice.* He might, with more and better advisement, have said, *How shall I curse where the Lord hath not cursed; or how shall I detest where the Lord hath not detested?* He is not so wise as Balaam, which would not, for a house full of silver and gold, pass the commandment of the Lord, to do either good or bad of his own mind."

But although we are deeply bound to join with Bishop Jewel in his expressions of pious gratitude, it cannot be denied that to a certain extent, the fulminations of the Vatican were allowed, for mysterious reasons, to do their work of mischief among us. They did not, indeed, shake to pieces the fabric of our government; but they helped to throw the elements of society into more fierce and perilous commotion than before. Up to this period, the general body of the English Romanists had abstained from open defection from the national form of worship. But from henceforth, the parish churches, for the most part, were deserted by them. When once the Pope's curse had gone forth against the Protestant Queen, all communion of the Papists with the Church of which she was the leading member, would be a

manifest abandonment of their fidelity to the Apostolic See. The Bull of Pius V. was, therefore, a signal for all true *Catholics* to separate themselves from the *schismatic* establishment. The breach between the two communions was thus fearfully widened, and, in fact, rendered quite irreparable : and from this period it is that “ treason domestic, and foreign levy ” were in more constant activity than ever, against the person and government of Elizabeth. The emissaries of Rome were perpetually offering crowns of glory to those who sought her life ; and proclaiming that heaven and earth were up in arms against the progeny of incest, and the patronness of heresy and schism. At the same time, it must not be disguised that the evils of that period were miserably aggravated by the apathy, or the perverseness, which began to disgrace the followers of the Reformation. It was not the voice from the seven hills alone, which thinned the parochial congregations throughout England. The zeal which had animated and united the Protestants, on the re-establishment of their faith at the accession of Elizabeth, was already waxing somewhat cold : and they who professed to retain most of its original fervor, were unhappily wasting their energy in the agitation of questions which lay on the outside of Christianity, instead of devoting it to the promotion of its vital and essential interests. And thus, strange as it may seem, while the Pope was labouring to empty our Churches by denunciations from the Vatican, the Puritans were *virtually* aiding him by pouring contempt upon every thing which could remind the people of his authority, or even of his existence. And hence it was, that

the enlightened friends of discipline and order were placed, as it were, between the upper and the nether mill-stone. They were assailed by enemies from abroad, and by false brethren at home. As the Puritanical controversy became more exasperated, the position of the Church of England became, of course, more critical and dangerous. That she has emerged in safety from the dangers which then environed her, and from the still more calamitous vicissitudes which followed, we gladly and thankfully ascribe to the protection of God's gracious Providence.

The year 1571 was remarkable for active proceedings, both in the Parliament and the Convocation, with a view to the establishment of uniformity in ecclesiastical and spiritual matters. The celebrated Cartwright was then becoming formidably prominent among the leaders of the Puritanical party. This extraordinary man was gifted by nature with endowments, which might have rendered him a tower of strength to the Established Church. Unfortunately, however, his temper was untractable and factious, and drove him at length to extremities of opposition against the hierarchy, such as towards the close of his life, he himself repented and deplored. At this period he was Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; a post which enabled him to give a disastrous popularity to his notions on the subject of Church discipline. So dangerously was the University infected with his doctrines, that Archbishop Grindal had found it necessary to address the Chancellor, Sir

1571.  
Proceedings  
against the Pu-  
ritans.

William Cecil, upon the subject, in the month of June of the preceding year, 1570. He represented that some speedy course must be resorted to with respect to Cartwright, whose daily invectives against the existing government and polity of the Church, were spreading among the students an appetite for change, and an ungovernable spirit of contention. In the present year, 1571, Archbishop Parker felt it expedient to raise, if possible, an effective barrier against the deluge of innovation which Cartwright was letting loose upon the land. He, accordingly, submitted the matter to the Bishops, assembled in Convocation; and the result of their deliberations was an unanimous resolution, that the Articles of 1562, should be printed under the supervision of the Bishop of Salisbury; and that every Bishop should have a convenient number of copies for circulation through their dioceses<sup>1</sup>. The Articles having been signed by the Members of the Upper House of Convocation, it was further ordered that all those Members of the Lower House, who had not already subscribed them, should be required to affix their subscriptions now<sup>2</sup>. In addition to this measure, an Act was passed by the Parliament, in this same year, which provided, among other matters of ecclesiastical regulation, that none should be admitted to the Orders of Dean or Minister without subscribing the same Articles; and, further, that every person admitted to a Benefice with Cure, should, within

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker, vol. ii. p. 53. Oxf. ed.

<sup>2</sup> Eccl. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 52.



two months after his induction, read the Articles publicly in his Parish Church<sup>1</sup>. It may, also, be fitly stated here, that in this same Parliament was made the last effort to bring into practice, by the authority of the legislature, the Book of Canons framed under the direction of Archbishop Cranmer, in the reign of Edward VI., and usually known by the title of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*. The difficulties in the way of this design were, however, found to be insuperable. In the first place, it was thought, by several, that nothing could be more visionary than the expectation that such a code of discipline could be enforced against the laity; more especially that portion of them who were fortified by rank and opulence, and who were the least likely to endure that a bridle should be fixed in the jaws, and a hook in the nostrils, of their selfishness and profligacy. It, moreover, was soon discovered that the Queen was inflexibly adverse to the project. Whatever scruples she might profess, respecting the title of Supreme Head of the Church, she seems to have been by no means averse from the exercise of that power which the title implied. She was extremely unwilling that the Parliament should busy themselves in this, or any other matter which might touch her prerogative. She was even backward in giving her formal sanction to the orders and constitutions of the Bishops. Their power and jurisdiction, she maintained, were derived from her; and, therefore, their authority was in need of no further sanction or support<sup>2</sup>. The code, however, received the signature of

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 105, 106. Oxf. ed.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, Parker, vol. ii. pp. 59, 60. Oxf. ed.



the Bishops of the province of Canterbury, and of Jewel among them, in April 1571. In the July or August following, they were transmitted to Archbishop Grindal, together with a recommendation that they should be observed by the clergy of that province. These laws received the full approbation of Grindal, and the signatures of himself and his clergy. At the same time he expressed a serious doubt whether they could possibly have the force of law, unless they were either solemnly adopted by a national synod, and ratified by the Royal assent in writing, or else were confirmed by an Act of Parliament. Fine words, he said, would furnish but a poor protection against the terrors of a *Premunire*. He, nevertheless, allowed it to be extremely advisable to have the book in readiness to be submitted, at any time, to the consideration of the legislature. *In readiness* it has, accordingly, remained, from that day to the present hour! So that the Church of England still labours under the reproach of an incomplete Reformation, and of the want of any effective spiritual authority, for the correction of those vices which are beyond the reach of any secular judicature. The difficulty of constructing such a system for a great national Church, and of carrying it into beneficial execution, must, indeed, be obvious to all who will be at the pains of considering the nature of the case, in all its bearings. And this difficulty must, of course, be incalculably aggravated, in a state of society and law, which recognises the right of every individual to separate himself from the communion of the National Church, and to abjure the Apostolical form of episcopal government. But then, it is a question

which well deserves the deepest consideration, whether the actual *discipline* of the Romish Church has not been, upon the whole, far less favourable to the public morals, than the *defect* of discipline in those countries which have departed from her. But, be this as it may, it would be most iniquitous to forget that the hierarchy, at least, are chargeable with no remissness in preparing for the experiment. If the attempt has been altogether abortive, the failure must be imputed, partly to adverse circumstances, and partly to the monarchical jealousy, and arbitrary temper of the Queen.

In addition to the measures resorted to by the Parliament and the Convocation, for the correction of ecclesiastical irregularities and abuses, the Queen was, at last, prevailed upon to arm the Primate with a special injunction of her own. By this document he was required, as Metropolitan, to have regard to the preservation of "such uniform order in the Divine service and rules of the Church, as by the laws in that behalf were provided." He was further authorized to associate with himself, in the execution of this order, the Bishops of London and of Salisbury; who were "straitly charged to assist him, from time to time, to do all manner of things requisite to reform such abuses, in whomsoever the same should be found." And if any of the Bishops, or others, whom he might call to his aid, should show any such remissness as his admonition might not be found sufficient to amend, he was charged to apprise her Majesty of their default. This formidable missive was dated in August, 1571; and, together with the late proceedings of the Convocation and the Legislature, gave life and vigour to the exer-

tions of the Primate against the more incorrigible adversaries of uniformity<sup>1</sup>.

Zanchius's letter to the Queen on behalf of the Puritans.

It is by no means very surprising that many of the Protestant Divines of the Continent, whose model of ecclesiastical discipline was different from that of the Church of England, should sympathize with the Puritans under the troubles which they had brought upon themselves by their fastidious aversion for the white robe, and the square cap, and other matters equally momentous. Among their friends and comforters was Zanchius, a learned Italian, at that time Professor of Theology in the University of Heidelberg; who, this year, undertook the office of intercessor for them to the Queen. He addressed a very long letter to her Majesty in behalf of the Puritan ministers; in which he urgently solicited that their consciences might be relieved from the afflicting necessity of wearing that remnant of Papistry, the surplice; and lamented that so many Prelates, renowned for their wisdom and learning, should be driven from their offices by the imposition of such reliques of idolatry. This prolix and somewhat officious epistle was consigned to the care of Archbishop Grindal; who, very prudently, declined to present it to Elizabeth; feeling, no doubt, that her Majesty was not very likely to digest this sort of interference with her ecclesiastical government, even though the application was made—as Zanchius averred—“by the command of the most noble

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 105.—Parker, vol. ii. p. 77. Oxf. ed.

Prince, one of her Majesty's most especial friends, the Prince Elector Palatine." In excusing himself, however, for omitting to execute this commission, Grindal assured the Professor that he was utterly mistaken in the surmise that the measures of the Government were likely to deprive the Church of England of the services of her Prelates; for that all of them, without exception, had actually complied with the ecclesiastical orders.

We may here, however, repeat the remark, that these foreigners,—though free from any national prejudice in favour of the usages of our Church,—were, beyond measure, more moderate and candid in their views of the subject than our own contumacious countrymen. This was eminently exemplified on the present occasion. For Zanchius, though an advocate for an indulgent construction of the scruples of the Puritans, deprecated, like his brethren of Zurich, the schism with which their obstinacy was threatening the realm of England. This sentiment he expressed very strongly in a letter Zanchius's letter to Jewel. to Bishop Jewel, which was brought by

the same messenger who bore his remonstrance to Elizabeth. In this letter he said that he had learned with sorrow "that many godly Bishops were determined to lay down their offices, and leave their places, rather than wear the habits; and he was earnestly called upon by the brethren abroad to persuade the said Bishops not to do so. He wrote to Jewel, as a person of great learning and sway in the Church, to use his interest with them to continue in their places; seeing that Satan sought nothing more than to dissipate the Church, by scattering away the

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true Bishops. *For there seemed to be no reason why a pastor should leave his flock, so long as he might freely teach, and administer the Sacraments, according to the Word of God; although he might be compelled to do something which he could not wholly approve,—(so it be of the nature of things which, of themselves, are not evil, but indifferent),—being commanded by the Queen. When one of two things must happen,—either to depart their place, or obey such a command,—he should rather obey;—but, nevertheless, with a lawful protestation, and with distinct declaration to the people, why, and on what account, he obeyed that command. This opinion was so plain and clear, both by Scripture, and Holy Fathers, and ecclesiastical historians, that it would be needless to bring any proof to them who were at all conversant with such authorities. For a lawful and necessary vocation is never to be forsaken by reason of things in their nature indifferent and unessential<sup>1</sup>.*"

This excellent and most judicious counsel, as we have seen, was not at all needed by the reverend Fathers of the Church of England. Most devoutly, however, however, was it to be desired, that certain other divines, less distinguished by their rank, but, nevertheless of commanding influence, had condescended to receive these wise and faithful sayings! That sentiments, such as here expressed by this right-minded foreigner, found an echo in the bosom of Bishop Jewel, is manifest from the whole of his demeanour, since the first eruption of the contest.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. ii. part i. p. 142—144. Oxf. ed.

It is further evident from a conference which he held shortly before his death (though with whom we are not informed), relative to the disorders which had broken in upon the Church, and also from the tenor of the last sermon preached by him at Paul's Cross. In this discourse, after having enlarged upon the national misery

*Jewel's sermon  
at Paul's Cross  
on the existing  
disorders.*

and ruin which follows from dissension, he proceeds thus:—"But wherefore speak I of these things? Wherefore do I here repeat unto you these ancient histories? Why do I recount unto you the overthrow of Rome; the destruction of the Grecians; the desolation of Jerusalem; which all happened through division? I would to God I saw nothing before mine eyes that should cause me thus to say! But these examples, brethren, God hath placed before our eyes, that we might take heed by them; that we might the better look to ourselves, and beware of our own destruction. Christ hath said—Christ, who is the author of truth, and truth itself, hath said—*Civitas divisa desolabitur*. The city that is divided, be it never so rich, never so strong, never of so great force,—it shall be destroyed, it shall be brought to desolation. . . . These things, good brethren, appertain, both unto our officers that are ministers, and appointed by God to instruct the people; and they appertain also unto all magistrates; yea, and unto the whole people. As for us that are God's ministers, and messengers sent unto you, we do stand upon the tower to cry,—and to give you warning that the enemies are coming. Our part is to declare unto you, that your fight is not against King nor Cæsar; is not against any prince or power of this



world; but against spiritual enemies; against the devil and his adherents. Our part is to dissuade you from *dissension*; to dissuade you from *discord and division*. This must we do, as well to the magistrate as to the rest of the people; as well to him that beareth office as to him that beareth none. For, *we are debtors unto all men*; as well to the rich as to the poor; as well to the wise as to the foolish; to the good as to the bad. This is also the magistrate's office; this is likewise his duty. Therefore hath God set him up. Therefore hath God exalted him above the people, that he should guide them in peace, and lead them in love and unity together. . . . . Now let us, here, think that St. Paul speaketh these words unto us,—(as, indeed, he speaketh them unto us, if we are, or will be called, Christians),—unto us he saith, *Be not high-minded*; unto us he saith, *Be not wise in your own opinions*; unto us he saith, *Recompense no man evil for evil*; unto us he saith, *If it be possible, have peace with all men*. O, then, why are we of such proud hearts? Why are we high-minded? Why are we wise in our own opinions? Why recompense we evil for evil? Why seek we for revengement? Why agree we not together? Or, by whose name shall I call you? I would I might call you brethren. But, alas! this heart of yours is not brotherly. I would I might call you Christians! But, alas! you are no Christians. I know not by what name I shall call you. For, if you were brethren, you would love as brethren. If you were Christians, you would agree as Christians. Christ said unto his Disciples, and so, by them, unto all such as profess his name, *I give you a new commandment, That ye love one*



*another, as I have loved you.* By this token, by this cognizance of mine, shall men know that ye be my disciples, if ye love together, as I have loved you. Let us look well upon ourselves; let us behold ourselves well. Alas, this badge, this cognizance is gone. This peace that Christ left unto us, is no longer to be found amongst us. O ye, that were sometime brethren, but now are mortal enemies; ye that sometime wore this badge, this cognizance of Christ's peace, which now ye have cast from you; O how long will you follow vanity; how long will ye dwell in dissension? I have done my part. I have called you to peace. I have called you to love. I have called you to unity. Do now your parts. Do you ensue after peace. Love you each other. Continue you in unity together. I have not the keys of your hearts. I am not able to loose and open those stony hearts of yours. God make you all one. God mollify your hearts. God grant you to love as brethren together . . . . Alas, it is no great thing I require of you. I require only your love. I require only your friendship one towards another. I ask no more, but that your hearts be joined in mutual love and unity together. Alas, it is a thing that soon may be granted of such as pray together; of such as have one heavenly Father; of such as are partakers of Christ's holy sacraments; of such as profess Christ, and will be called Christians."

It is obvious, from the strain of urgent and affectionate iteration with which Jewel closes this address, that his heart was well nigh bursting with anguish at the distraction of the times. The recent measures of the Convocation—the confirmation of the Articles by

the Parliament in 1570—and the increasing displeasure and severity of the Queen—had driven the dissenting faction to the very verge of separation. At this period, many of them were actually beginning to hold their meetings in private houses; and some even in the woods and the fields. The conventicle, in short, was rising up to menace and confront the Church. And though, in his above discourse, Jewel abstains from any statement as to the precise nature of the dissensions he lamented, there can be no doubt that the sermon itself, as well as the conference held by him at London, were occasioned by the disorders in question. That any allusion to those evils, from the pulpit, must have been made by him with the deepest reluctance, is obvious from the whole tenor of his life and preaching. It had hitherto been his custom to make the essential doctrines of religion the principal subject of his preaching. And nothing, probably, but the threatening exigency of the times would have wrung from him the words of searching rebuke, with which he here chastises the self-sufficiency, the pride, the obstinacy, of *these children of disobedience*. The temper displayed by them must have been bitter indeed, when it compelled a man of his truly Catholic spirit, to declare, that it had almost wrought a forfeiture of their claim to the title of brethren, or of Christians.

It is, in truth, quite manifest that he had, then, abandoned all hope of winning over the refractory non-conformists by measures of concession or indulgence. And, being satisfied that the season for all such experiments was now past away, he girded himself up for the painful duty of withstanding them to

the face. Accordingly, one of the last of his written compositions was a Paper, drawn up for the use of Dr. Whitgift, in answer to certain frivolous objections against the government of the Church of England. Among the *reforms* then insisted upon by Cartwright and his party, was the abolition of the titles of Archbishop, and Archdeacon, as being altogether unscriptural and Popish. And as Jewel was renowned for his consummate knowledge of the ancient constitutions and primitive government of the Christian Church, it was thought desirable that the existing establishment should have the benefit of his assistance and authority. This service was faithfully performed by him in a very short Tract; in which he sets down the four reasons relied upon by the “novices” (as he termed them); and subjoins to each of them a concise refutation<sup>1</sup>. He concludes his paper with the following words: “*Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him*”<sup>2</sup>. It is but wantonness. Correction will help it.”

This paper was afterwards, (in 1572), produced by Dr. Whitgift in his answer to the “*Admonition to the Parliament;*” a virulent production put forth by

<sup>1</sup> This Paper is in Strype’s Whitgift, App. No. x.; with the following title, “The Judgment of that Reverend Father, Jewel, sometime Bishop of Sarum, on this assertion—(styled by him in the margin of his Paper, *Novitiorum assertio*)—*Archiepiscoporum ac Diaconorum nomina, simul cum numeribus et officiis, sunt abolenda.*”

<sup>2</sup> The text is quoted in Latin by Jewel,—*Stultitia nata est in corde pueri; et virga disciplinæ fugabit eam.* Prov. xxii. 15.

the Puritans in the midst of the contentions relative to the clerical habits. The publication of Jewel's sentiments roused the bitterest resentments of the dissenting faction. The transcendent services rendered by him to the cause of the Reformation, were all, in a moment, forgotten. Nothing was remembered but his opposition to the scruples, or the caprices, of men, whose consciences,—(as intimated by Bullinger)—had been trained in the school of contention. He had called the non-conformists *novices*, and *children*, and their doctrine *wantonness*; and, for this affront, his memory was vindictively assailed by Cartwright in his "*Reply to Whitgift*." This Reply was speedily followed by a "*Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*," in which Whitgift notices, with becoming indignation, the malignity with which the faction tore to pieces the name of the deceased champion of the Protestant Church. "It was strange to me"—he says—"to hear so notable a Bishop, so learned a man, so stout a champion of the true religion, so painful a prelate,—so ungratefully and spitefully used by a sort of wavering, wicked, and spiteful tongues. If their learning be but touched, they would not stick to deface any other; nay, even the notable Jewel, whose labour and learning they did ever, and among themselves, deprave; as I myself have heard with mine own ears, and a number more besides. And as a proof thereof, I refer to the report which, by that faction, was spread of the Bishop after his last sermon at St. Paul's. Neither did that holy Bishop call the doctrine of the Gospel *wantonness*, as T. Cartwright slanderously wrote and reported; but their own doctrine, (which

they would have to be the doctrine of the gospel), he did so call. And if it had pleased God to have suffered him to live to that day, he would, no doubt, have proved that, what Cartwright called his *biting and sharp words*, were words of truth<sup>1</sup>."

It is melancholy to find Protestants emulating the most exasperated Romanists, in their abuse of such a man as Jewel! But, at all events, the fact in question, together with various other circumstances above related, are so far valuable, that they will enable us to fix a proper estimate on the insinuations thrown out by his first biographer, Lawrence Humphrey, that Jewel agreed with the Non-conforming party in their contempt for many of the ordinances and usages of the Established Church. "In his sermons," says this writer, "he very rarely, and never without the greatest reluctance, spoke of rites and institutions, or of matters merely indifferent. His whole powers were intent on the work of honouring and exalting the pious affections. *He well knew that the Gospel is not a dilute and frigid preachment of ceremonies, but a solid handling of the Christian doctrine*<sup>2</sup>. The truth is here stated; but stated in such a manner, as, partially, to produce the effect of falsehood. That Jewel was unwilling to convert the pulpit into a position from which he might vindicate the use of the surplice, or the cap, or any other merely ritual custom, may easily be believed. He must have known that this method might tend as much to the dissemination, as to the

<sup>1</sup> See Strype's Whitgift, B. i. c. vi.—Whitgift's "Defence," &c.

<sup>2</sup> Humphrey, p. 111.

correction of fantastic scruples; and thus might eventually widen the schism, instead of healing it. Neither is it wonderful that any one, animated by his fervent devotional feelings, should prefer *the solid handling of Christian doctrine*, to a dry controversial exposition of the polity of the Church. But it would be most unreasonable to infer from his practice in this respect, that he considered the exterior decencies of worship as matters utterly unworthy of the regard of a Christian divine, or of a Christian congregation. It is evident, however, that Humphrey was anxious to represent both the Church of England and her great apologist, as in wonderful harmony with the Protestant Churches of Switzerland. That Jewel, and many others of Queen Elizabeth's most eminent divines maintained an amicable correspondence with those churches, is indeed beyond all question. They were prompted to do so, by every motive which can animate a Christian. They were bound to those communities by every tie of gratitude; for, among them, the English exiles had found a most hospitable asylum in the days of their calamity. It was, further, well known to all, that the pastors and teachers of that country were worthy of the highest veneration, for their learning, their piety, and their fervid zeal in the cause of the Reformation. It is, therefore, far from wonderful that the English prelates should be anxious to maintain a friendly and confidential intercourse with these, their honoured brethren, and their generous benefactors. It is, moreover, certain, that the confidence reposed by our Reformers, in the wisdom and the good faith of these eminent ministers, was never disappointed or abused.



When consulted respecting the questions which were distracting our own Church, they generally manifested a spirit of moderation utterly unknown to the patrons of Non-conformity in England<sup>1</sup>. And, if

<sup>1</sup> The judgment of Bullinger, and other foreign divines, has already been adverted to. The opinion given by Beza, in October, 1567, may here be added. "Although," he writes, "in our judgment, it was not well done to bring back the use of the habits into the Church, yet, since they cannot be numbered among those things which, in themselves, are ungodly, we think them not to be of such great moment, that, on their account, the pastors should abandon their ministry, rather than assume those garments; or that the flock should desert their pasture, rather than listen to ministers so apparelled. We, however, advise the pastors to discharge their own consciences by an open, but moderate, protestation against them, before the Queen and Bishops and their congregations. We dissuade you from subscribing to these things as right, or from allowing them to be so by your silence. But we exhort all the brethren, *even with tears*, that, laying aside all bitterness of mind, and keeping truth of doctrine, and a good conscience, they will patiently bear with each other, and *obey from their heart their Queen, and all her Bishops*, resist Satan, who seeketh all occasions of tumult and calamity, and agree together in the Lord, even, though in some things, their present sentiments might be different<sup>1</sup>." The above exhortation *to obey the Bishops*, is in full accordance with other expressions of Beza, respecting the Church of England. Though a vehement advocate for the Presbyterian discipline in one of his discourses, he says, "If now the Anglican Churches be upheld by the authority of Bishops and Archbishops—(and within our memory they have had men of that order, not only illustrious martyrs of God, but also most worthy pastors and doctors)—let England surely enjoy that singular blessing of God, which I pray God may be perpetuated unto it<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker. B. iii. c. 16.—Beza, Ep. xiii. p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Bez. de Ministr. Evang. c. 18. See Strype, ubi. sup.



any thing could have disarmed the hostility of the sectarians, it would have been the mildness and the discretion which dictated the replies from Switzerland, relative to the matters in debate. With regard to Jewel, more especially, it may almost be said that his heart was at Zurich, for some years after his return to his own country and his own church. It was at Zurich that the kindness of Peter Martyr converted the days of his banishment into a period of lettered security and ease. And nothing can be more natural than the readiness of his imagination to take wing, for that peaceful retreat, from the scene of perplexity and turmoil with which he was surrounded. Neither can it be reasonably doubted that his residence abroad had brought his mind to a state approaching to indifference, respecting the exterior form and apparatus of religion. At all events, it seems clear, from his correspondence, that, if peace could have been the *certain* consequence of concession, he would have been well content to make some considerable sacrifices for an object so desirable. But there is nothing in any part of his history to warrant the presumption, that he was ever an advocate for the Calvinistic scheme of discipline. When he was in exile, he laboured, with all his faculties, to suppress the discord, which the spirit of that system had let loose among his companions in adversity. And the latest acts of his life prove, beyond contradiction, that he was prepared for the most firm and decided resistance to Non-conformity, when once it began to assume the tone and aspect of sedition. Humphrey, however, being himself an adherent of Geneva, was naturally desirous of exalting his own cause, by

claiming for it the name and patronage of Jewel. And he, probably, contrived to persuade himself, that good evidence for his purpose might be found in the Bishop's known attachment to his friends in Switzerland, and in his avowed admiration of their learning and their labours.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1571.

*Jewel's hospitality and beneficence—He is the Patron of Richard Hooker—Builds a Library for his Cathedral—Resists the spoliation of the Church—The purity of his life—His labours as a Preacher—His lenity and kindness—His cheerfulness of temper—His powers of memory—His habits of study—His last Visitation—His death—His memory slandered by the Papists—He is buried at Salisbury—His will—Humphrey's life of Jewel—Jewel's Defence, &c., set up in Churches.—Translated into Latin in 1578.*

1571. JEWEL had, at this time, occupied the see of Salisbury for eleven years. Of his administration of the diocese, and his discharge of other Episcopal duties, little is known in very minute official detail. But that his government was, in all respects, most exemplary and useful, has never, for a moment, been the subject of a doubt. The testimony of Whitgift, produced in the preceding chapter, numbers him among the "most notable and painful prelates" of his time: and his name is never mentioned without distinguished honour, in the annals of that period, when they refer to the Bishops of

Queen Elizabeth. It is true, that his controversy with Harding must have occupied a very ample share of his time. But his habits were so laborious, and so methodical, that wonders were accomplished by him, both in the way of business and of study, without the slightest sacrifice of either.

It has been intimated above, that when Jewel was advanced to the Bench, he found his Bishopric in a state of deplorable impoverishment; for which, in a great part, he had to thank the selfish rapacity of his immediate predecessor. Nevertheless, such was his judicious management of what remained, that he found means of exercising, in no ordinary measure, the Episcopal virtues of hospitality and munificence. In his own personal habits, he was rigidly abstemious; but his table was, nevertheless, plentifully, though plainly and unambitiously, supplied; and the learned and the virtuous, whether his own countrymen or foreigners, always found there a cheerful and a cordial welcome. To the poor, his doors were constantly open. The destitute and the afflicted might always reckon upon his bounty, to the full extent of his disposable resources. And here, again, all distinction of country was forgotten; except that, of all the strangers who sought his aid, there were none whose suit was so gladly entertained, as those who came from Zurich, or who brought with them the recommendation of being personally known to Peter Martyr. In the year 1568, more especially, he contributed liberally to the relief of the Protestant fugitives, who sought an asylum in England from the persecution

Jewel's hospitality and beneficence.

which was raging on the Continent<sup>1</sup>." To friendless worth and scholarship his hand and heart were always open. He had, generally, domesticated with him some half dozen lads, of humble parentage, whom, at his own charge, he trained up to the pursuits of learning. And it was one of his favourite recreations to hear them dispute, during his meal, and under his own direction, upon questions arising out of their daily task. In addition to this, he allowed a yearly pension, for their maintenance, to several youthful students at the University; and, when they came to visit him, he seldom dismissed them without substantial proofs of his liberality. And blessed indeed was the fruit of this pious and charitable practice: for it is among the glories and the felicities of Jewel, that

Jewel the patron of Richard Hooker.

he helped to rescue from obscurity and indigence, the immortal Richard Hooker.

It will be remembered that, early in the reign of Elizabeth, the western parts of England were visited by Jewel, under the Queen's Commission. His benevolent and generous disposition thus became known to the people of Exeter, which was the native place of Hooker's family; and, accordingly, some short time after Jewel's promotion to the See of Salisbury, John Hooker, the uncle of Richard, ventured on an application to the Bishop, in behalf of his nephew, who had already given promise of more than ordinary virtue and ability. On being admitted

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. ii. part ii. p. 271. Oxf. ed. Jewel's contribution was 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; a sum, probably, equivalent to 30*l.* at the present time.

into Jewel's presence, the uncle "besought him, for charity's sake, to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the Bishop would, therefore, become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes." The Bishop immediately appointed that the boy should attend him at Salisbury, at the Easter next following, together with his schoolmaster. At the time fixed, the teacher and the pupil made their appearance. After some examination, Jewel was so well satisfied with the manners and attainments of the lad, that he gave a reward to the schoolmaster for his care, assigned a pension to the parents of Richard, for his support, and also promised to keep an eye upon him, with a view to his future advancement. Conformably to this engagement, the Bishop had him removed to Oxford in the year 1567, when he was about fourteen years of age; and consigned him to the care of Doctor Cole, then President of Corpus Christi College. The assistance of his uncle, together with the pension continued to him by the Bishop, enabled him to prosecute his studies, and to lay the foundations of his imperishable renown.

After he had been about four years at Oxford, Richard Hooker went on foot to visit his mother at Exeter; and, on his way thither, he travelled by Salisbury, for the express purpose of visiting his kind patron and benefactor. Both he and another youth from Oxford, who was the companion of his journey, were invited to the Bishop's table; an honour which

was always proudly and gratefully remembered by Hooker. On his departure, the Bishop furnished him with abundance of good counsel, and, moreover, gave him his benediction; but, by mere inadvertence, forgot to provide him with any other facilities for his journey to Exeter. The seeming unkindness, however, was soon repaired. The moment the Bishop recollected his omission, he sent a servant to overtake Richard with all possible speed, and to bring him back. On his return, the Bishop, with singular considerateness for the feelings of a humble youth, forbore to begin by any allusion to the immediate purpose for which he had recalled him, but addressed him thus,—“ Richard, I sent for you back, to lend you a horse, which hath carried me many a mile; and, I thank God, with much ease.” And here he put into Richard’s hand a walking staff, with which he professed that he had travelled through many parts of Germany; a circumstance which might well reconcile the young man to the labour and tediousness of pedestrian travel. “ And, Richard,” continued the Bishop, “ I do not give, but lend, you mine horse. Be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me, at your return this way to Oxford. And I do give you ten groats<sup>1</sup> to bear your charges to Exeter. And here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother; and tell her that I send a Bishop’s benediction with it; and beg a continuance of her prayers for me. And if you

<sup>1</sup> Ten groats, of that day, were, probably, equivalent to more than thirty shillings of our present money; and might be a very sufficient *viaticum* for a pedestrian traveller from Salisbury to Exeter.



bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the College. And so, God bless you, good Richard."

Nothing can well be imagined more kind, more amiable, and more delicate, than the pleasantry of Bishop Jewel on this occasion. But, alas, Richard Hooker had no opportunity of restoring *the horse* which had carried his venerable benefactor over so much ground. The next intelligence which followed him was, that his kindest friend had been called to his eternal reward. Fortunately, Jewel had not departed, without securing another patron for the youthful scholar. A little before his death, he had spoken of Richard in language of the highest praise to Edwin Sandys,—(then Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of York),—who had been Jewel's most intimate companion in exile. Upon the strength of this recommendation, Sandys, though himself a Cambridge man, resolved to send his son to Corpus Christi, Oxford, in order that he might be placed under the tuition of Hooker. "I will have," he said, "a tutor for my son who shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example; and Richard Hooker shall be the man<sup>1</sup>." We can easily imagine what would have been the exultation of the champion of our Church against the Romanists, if he could have known that, by all these kind offices, he was fostering and preparing an equally renowned defender of the same Church, against the assaults of her own rebellious children. The reverence in which the memory of Jewel was

<sup>1</sup> I. Walton's Life of Hooker.

held by Hooker, was such as might be expected from his knowledge of the man. It is expressed by him, strongly and cordially, in his own immortal work, where he speaks of “the controversy handled between Mr. Harding and *the worthiest Divine that Christendom hath bred for some hundreds of years*<sup>1</sup>.”

He builds a library for his cathedral.

Another monument of Jewel's munificent spirit, was the library which he built, at his own expense, for his cathedral church. This benefaction was afterwards rendered more valuable by the liberality of his successor, Bishop Gheast, who supplied the same library with a collection of books. The name of each founder was, subsequently, perpetuated by an inscription, in which their bounty is gratefully recorded<sup>2</sup>.

Resists the spoliation of the Church.

The care with which he guarded and administered the Episcopal revenues, was extended by him to those belonging to the Church over which he presided. This duty was one which, at that period, required unusual firmness and address. Elizabeth was notoriously vigilant over her treasury. Not only her gay courtiers, but her most faithful and laborious servants, were often heard to complain of this department in her system of government. But then, there was always a valuable, and, as many seemed to think, an inex-

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Pol. b. ii. s. 6.

<sup>2</sup> “Hæc bibliotheca extructa est sumptibus R. P., ac D. D. Johannis Jewelli, quondam Sarum Episcopi; instructa verò libris a R. in Christo P. D. Edmundo Gheast, olim ejusdem Ecclesiæ Episcopo: quorum memoria in benedictione erit.” A. D. 1578.

haustible, resource, in the property of the Church. *Solvat Ecclesia*—let the Church pay for all—was literally the motto of a company of young gallants, who appeared with sumptuous appointments at a solemn tilting, in the time of Bishop Bancroft<sup>1</sup>. And it is well known that, during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, it required all the watchfulness and courage of the Bishops, to preserve what had been left by Henry and his courtiers, from indiscriminate plunder. Jewel was inflexible in his resistance to this shameless rapacity. One instance, in particular, is recorded of his faithfulness in this respect. A certain layman of rank, having, by some means, obtained a prebend in the Church of Salisbury, was desirous of letting it for his own advantage. He waited on the Bishop for his consent; produced the stipulations of the contract; and, with it, the opinions of the lawyers relative to the validity of the transaction. The Bishop instantly replied, "What your lawyers may answer, I know not. But this I know,—that I will take care that my church shall sustain no loss, while I live." What was the precise nature of this case,—and whether it was such as enabled the Bishop to protect his church by any effectual opposition to the measure,—we are left wholly uninformed. At all events, he must have had the satisfaction of knowing that he had done his part towards saving the patrimony of the Church from the ruin which her own professed friends were bringing upon it. It is, further, much to his honour

<sup>1</sup> Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 766. Eccl. Biog. vol. iv. p. 70, note 8.

that the presence of the Queen and her Court was unable to bear down his resolution, or to deter him from manifesting the same care for the whole Church collectively. On one occasion he was called upon to preach before her Majesty. He chose for his text Psalm lxi. 9, "*The zeal of thy house hath eaten me.*" In the course of his sermon he observed, that "the cause why the Church of God is so forsaken was the want of zeal in them that should, either for their courtesy, or for their ability, be fosterers of learning, and increase the livings, where occasion is, and give hope and comfort to learned men. What said I—increase? Nay, the livings and provision which heretofore were given to this use, are taken away." He then goes on to denounce and expose the ruinous impropriations, and other scandalous abuses of sacred property: and adds, "thus they that should be careful for God's Church—that should be patrons to provide for the consciences of the people, and to place among them a learned minister, who might be able to preach the word unto them, out of season, and in season, and to fulfil his ministry,—seek their own, and not that which is Jesus Christ's. They serve not Jesus Christ, but their belly. And this is done, not in one place, or in one country, but throughout England. *A gentleman cannot keep his house, unless he have a parsonage or two in farm, in his possession.*" And then he exclaims—"O merciful God, whereto will this grow at last! If the misery which this plague worketh would reach to but one age, it were tolerable. *But it will be a plague to the posterity. It will be the decay and desolation of God's Church.* Young men which are

toward and learned, see this. They see that he which feedeth the flock, hath least part of the milk. He which goeth a warfare, hath not half his wages. Therefore, they are weary and discouraged. They change their studies. Some become prentices. Some turn to physic. Some to law. All shun and flee the ministry. And—besides the hindrance that thus groweth by wicked dealing of patrons—by reason of the impropriations, the vicarages in many places, and in the properest market towns, are so simple, that no man can live upon them, and therefore no man will take them. They *were* wont to say, *Beneficia sine curâ*—benefices without charge. But now it may be said, *Cura sine beneficio*—charge or cure, without benefice!" He next addresses the Queen herself, more directly, in these words: "Your Grace's subjects had some hopes of amendment in your Grace's late visitation. But yet it standeth in case as miserable as it did before. *I know your Grace heareth not of these matters.* And I hope God will work in your gracious heart to provide some remedy against them. For, otherwise, the schools will be forsaken, the Church desolate, the people wild and dismayed, the Gospel discredited: otherwise, we shall see that wrought against the house of God, that never any Jeroboam, or Julian, or Licinius, could have brought to pass against us." He then proceeds to notice the advocates for what, in modern phraseology, we may call the voluntary system,—who seem to have been nearly as clamorous in those days, as they are in our own: "But there are many who will say, such as be ministers in the church should teach freely

without hope of recompense or hire for their labour. Our preachers are no better than Peter or Paul, and the other apostles. They are no better than the holy prophets, who lived poorly. Poverty is a commendable estate! So say some, in like devotion as did Judas,—*what needed this waste? This might have been sold for much and given to the poor! Not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare that which was given.* I doubt not there are many which teach Christ, for Christ's sake; which say in their soul, *the Lord is my portion*; who, in that heavy time, from which God delivered them, if they might have received their life only for a recompense, would have been glad to take the pains; who seek you and not yours; which have forsaken all they had to follow Christ. I doubt not there are such. But, for the hope of posterity, I report me to all you which are fathers, and have children for whom you are careful. Although you yourselves have a zeal and care for the house of God, yet will ye not breed them up, keep them at school, until four and twenty years old, to your charges, that, in the end, they may live *in glorious poverty*!—that they may live poor and naked, like the prophets and apostles! Our posterity shall rue that ever such fathers went before them. And chronicles shall report this contempt of learning among the punishments and murrains, and other plagues of God. They shall leave it written, in what time, and under whose reign this was done. Or, if *we* grow so barbarous that we consider not this, or be not able to draw it into chronicle, yet foreign nations shall not



spare to write this, and publish it, to our everlasting reproach and shame<sup>1</sup>."

The works of Bishop Jewel are not, at this day, in every person's hands. And, for this reason, his own words have been produced at considerable length. They are the words of one, whom calumny herself cannot dare to stigmatize as a worldly-minded and mercenary churchman. Even after he came to his Bishopric, he lived a life of abstinence and toil, and of beneficence, which had no other limit but that of his ability. His testimony may, therefore, be produced as, in the strictest sense, honest and disinterested. If there ever breathed a man who considered the revenues of the Church as truly consecrated to the service of God, and the benefit of God's reasonable creatures, that man was Bishop Jewel. And, *being dead he yet speaketh*, as a faithful and sainted witness in the cause of God. In that day, alas, he spoke almost in vain. The Queen herself, whatever might be her merits in restoring purity of doctrine, was a miserable protectress of the rights of the Church. She rather gave an impulse, by her own example, to the march of devastation. And, by this unhallowed policy, she bequeathed an inheritance of confusion to her successors. It would be impossible, in these pages, to trace all the mischiefs which followed, throughout the whole of their disastrous progress. But we have lived to see, that Jewel spake like a prophet, when he declared that the spirit of sacrilege then abroad, should be *a plague to posterity, and the decay and desolation of the Church of God*. We are,

<sup>1</sup> Jewel's Works. Ed. 1611. Sermon. iii. p. 191, 192.



at this moment, incessantly hearing of the abomination of pluralities and non-residence; and these things are turned against the Church of England, as her disgrace and her reproach. They are, in truth, the disgrace and the reproach of those, who made it impossible for clergymen, of reputable attainments, and respectable habits, to exist upon the emoluments of a single benefice. They are the disgrace and the reproach of men like those, who are here boldly and indignantly denounced by Bishop Jewel. And let all, who now are acting at least in the spirit of those spoilers, read, in his words, their own condemnation.

The purity of  
his life.

The praise which was extorted from the mouth of an enemy to his religion, while he was yet a stripling, Jewel continued to merit to the end of his days. Such was the purity and uprightness of his conversation, that he might be said to live the *life of an angel*<sup>1</sup>. Except in one respect, his advancement to a Bishopric made no alteration in his usual simplicity. Before his promotion, lame as he was, it had been his constant practice, whether at home or on the continent, to perform all his journeys on foot. This custom, however, was, for the most part, laid aside by him, when he became Bishop; not so much for the sake of self-indulgence, as because it was utterly inconsistent with the expedition requisite for the discharge of his episcopal duties: for, nearly all the time which was not occupied in study, was devoted by him to diligent inspection of his diocese. With the labour of visita-

<sup>1</sup> See Ante, c. i.

tion he always combined that of preaching ; an office which he performed with an anxious regard to the edification of the humblest hearers. He spared no pains in the preparation of his discourses ; and his object always was, to unite sound instruction with energetic plainness of speech. It is not certain that he uniformly committed his discourses to writing, previously to their delivery. The contrary may, indeed, be reasonably inferred from the printed title to his famous sermon at St. Paul's Cross in 1560, which purports that the discourse was "set forth as near as the author *could call it to remembrance*, without any alteration or addition." And, besides, it is affirmed by his biographer Humphrey, that it was his general custom to take up with him, into the pulpit, certain notes, containing references to Scripture, together with the heads of his discourse. It is, however, beyond all doubt, that every thing uttered by him was the result of deep and patient meditation. His powers of memory, his habitual self-possession, and his command of forcible and pathetic diction, would always secure the matter he had collected from loss or confusion, and would render a complete manuscript copy almost unnecessary <sup>1</sup>.

The state of his diocese, indeed, was such as, almost inevitably, to throw upon him the labour of pastoral instruction, as well as that of episcopal superintendence. The paucity of faithful and well-instructed clergymen was, at that time, altogether lamentable : and nothing would satisfy Jewel but an attempt to supply the deficiency by his own

His labours as  
a preacher.

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey, pp. 109, 110.

personal ministrations. It was in vain that his friend Humphrey represented to him, that the work must be too mighty for him,—that the most zealous and devoted Bishop must be content to speak by many tongues, and to see with many eyes,—and that he ought to invite learned and able men from every quarter, and consign to their care the churches of his diocese. To all this Jewel would reply, that he should very gladly follow such good counsel; but, where were the learned and able men to be found? Unlearned men, indeed, might be had in abundance; but he would not consent to hire their ignorance, at the lowest price that could be named. And, as for men who were fitly qualified for the ministry,—alas! his predecessor Capon had swallowed up all the resources for their maintenance; there was scarcely a dignity or a benefice which he had not given away or sold! Nothing, therefore,—he said—remained for him, but to multiply himself by perpetual journeying, and by unsparing labours in the pulpit, throughout the whole of his charge. His strength, it is true, might be rapidly spent by such exertions; but even so he was willing it should be: for how could a Bishop be too prodigal of his faculties, in the service of his God and his Redeemer<sup>1</sup>?

His lenity and kindness.

It has been seen above, that Jewel was very far removed from the weakness which, under the disguise of moderation, gives boldness and encouragement to factious discontent. It is, however, certain that his natural disposition

<sup>1</sup> Humphr. pp. 111—113.

prompted him to indulgent measures, whenever they could be safely and beneficially resorted to. This temper is clearly manifested in the counsel given by him to his old friend and tutor, Dr. Parkhurst, then Bishop of Norwich. "Let your chancellor"—said Jewel—"be harder, but you easier. Let him wound, but do you heal. Let him lance, do you plaister. Wise clemency will do more good than rigid severity. One man may move more with an engine, than six with the force of their hands." In the spirit of this advice, he would, himself, frequently take his seat in his own consistory, and assist in the determination of spiritual causes; being unwilling to consign the suitors entirely to the considerateness and the fidelity of his chancellor and officials. He is further said to have, occasionally, made his appearance at the quarter sessions as a justice of the peace. But being averse from needlessly entangling himself in merely secular duties, he generally abstained from all interference; except when his judgment was requested in cases involving a scruple of religion, or some other matter pertaining more or less to ecclesiastical cognizance<sup>1</sup>.

He was avaricious of nothing but time. His habit was to rise early, and to pass the first hours of the day in study and devotion. He seldom emerged from his library till eight o'clock; and before that hour, it was not easy to obtain access to him. Having then taken some slight refreshment, he would usually return to his books, until the hour of dinner:

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Biog. vol. iv. pp. 65, 66.

and this repast was always rendered delightful to his guests, by the engaging cheerfulness of his temper, and the sociable kindness of his demeanour. For although his virtue was severe, and his piety elevated, they were never made unlovely by sullenness or gloom. With him, the hours of refection, were hours of blameless mirth; seasoned, however, with the salt of useful and edifying discourse. The time which followed his meal, was generally employed in the despatch of business, and in giving audience to applicants and suitors. He would then frequently exercise the office of arbitrator and peace-maker between contending parties, much after the manner of the Primitive Bishops. His well-known wisdom and integrity were sufficient to give a conclusive sanction to his determinations: and many, who might otherwise have harassed each other with endless discord and litigation, found, at this fatherly tribunal, speedy, impartial, and unchargeable justice <sup>1</sup>.

Towards nine in the evening, he was accustomed to call his domestics before him, to examine them as to the manner in which each of them had passed the day, and to administer commendation, reproof, or admonition, as the occasion might require. It is related that one of these domestics,—who had entered into another service, after Jewel's death, and had there been guilty of some crime which brought him to the gallows,—lamented bitterly that he had forgotten the pious and salutary counsels which he

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey, pp. 69, 70.

daily received from his former master ; adding that, if the Bishop had lived, he should never have come to so ignominious an end.

Having thus fulfilled the duties of the day, the Bishop closed it, as he had begun it, with prayer ; and passed the remainder of his waking hours in his study. When he retired to bed, some one of his attendants read aloud to him, till his mind was composed ; and then, commending himself to the protection of his God and Saviour, he went to rest.

Of his mental powers and attainments, he has left an imperishable monument in his published works. One faculty he possessed in extraordinary perfection ; his memory was so retentive, that his intellectual stores were scarcely liable to the usual waste, of which other men are constantly complaining. He seems, also, to have been in possession of some artificial method, by which His powers of memory. the native capacity was prodigiously strengthened and improved ; and he is said to have communicated the secret to his tutor Dr. Parkhurst. Several instances have been recorded, illustrating the extraordinary success with which he had employed this judicious discipline. He was once put to the test by John Hoper, the Martyr Bishop of Gloucester, who presented him with a list of forty Welch and Irish words. Having read these over twice, or three times, Jewel went aside ; and, after a short recollection, repeated them, backward and forward, precisely in the order in which they were set down. He performed a similar feat, in the presence of the Lord Keeper Bacon, with ten lines of the paraphrase of Erasmus. Greater prodigies than these, have,



doubtless, been related of other persons : but these are sufficient to show the industry with which he laboured to cultivate the abilities bestowed on him by nature. And, that no expedients might be wanting to the perfect exercise and application of his powers, he was in the habit of making

His habits of study.

vast collections in his Common-place Books. These constantly accumulating treasures he rendered easily accessible to himself, by means of short but well digested indexes ; which, however, were drawn up in a brief character, of his own contrivance, and intelligible to no one but himself. Besides these *adversaria*, he kept a regular diary, in which he noted everything which he heard and saw, that appeared to him worthy of remembering.

It may easily be supposed that a method like this, steadily pursued throughout his life, must have furnished him with a vast magazine, for the purposes of his controversial warfare. Gifted, however, as he was, with tenacity of recollection, and provided with such treasures of various erudition, he never suffered himself to indulge an implicit reliance on his own accuracy. While he was preparing the Defence of his Apology, in answer to Harding, it was his custom first to read the work of his antagonist ; and then to mark the portions of it which demanded a reply. His next step was to draw up the heads of his intended answer, and to fix upon the authorities which he designed to produce in support of his own case. With the necessary references, his own Common-place Book was pretty sure to supply him : and, having pointed out these to his scribes, he ordered them to make correct copies of the passages to be



cited from the original works. By this careful and laborious process, he was forced upon a deliberate revisal of all the authorities upon which he relied for the substantiation of his argument. From this account of his method of working, it is obvious that he never allowed himself to be betrayed into inaccuracy by too much confidence in his own extraordinary powers of recollection <sup>1</sup>.

Of his familiar acquaintance with the classical tongues, it can scarcely be necessary to speak. His knowledge of Latin was consummate. His youth was, in a great measure, devoted to the acquisition of a perfect style in that language. Cicero was the model which he proposed to himself, in prose. And such was his admiration of Horace, that he not only learned him by heart, but is said to have illustrated his writings by a copious commentary. It will have been collected from the foregoing narrative, that the period of his exile was not, with him, an interval of sluggish dejection. On the contrary, it was rather like a migration to another University. The time which he passed with Peter Martyr, and the other worthies of Zurich, was only a season which helped to bring on his knowledge and his talents to their full and vigorous maturity.

Such was the life of Bishop Jewel. There remains only the melancholy, but yet not wholly unpleasing task, of recording the particulars of its close. In the autumn of 1571, he perceived that his end was approaching. His constitution was naturally feeble; his bodily frame spare and thin; and, nevertheless,

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Biogr. vol. iv. pp. 60, 61.

his whole life was one constant series of intense exertion. What with his labours as a student, and his *weariness and painfulness* as a visiting and preaching Bishop,—his corporeal tenement sunk prematurely under the demands which were made upon it by the spirit within. But the sense of his approaching dissolution brought with it no thoughts of ease. The smaller the time which remained to him, the more urgent was the necessity for a profitable application of it. He, accordingly, set out upon a more searching visitation of his diocese. In the course of this last progress, the negligences of the clergy, and the vices of the laity, were chastised by him with a more than usual severity of rebuke. He omitted no opportunity of setting forth the truth as it is in Jesus, from the pulpit; and, in order to give full and permanent effect to his oral instructions, he furnished his clergy with tracts, which he enjoined them to learn by heart, and thus to qualify themselves more effectually for the edification of their flocks<sup>1</sup>.

His last visitation.

It was in this last visitation that an event occurred, which betrayed the strange malice, and still stranger ignorance, of his Popish adversaries. Having appointed to preach at Abingdon, in Berkshire, multitudes flocked to hear him; and, among them, certain scholars from Oxford, who were not very cordially affected towards the reformed faith. The Bishop's text led him to an uncompromising exposure of the worldly pomp and pride of the Pope and his hierarchy; which he illustrated with a variety of reference to ancient authori-

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Biogr. vol. iv. pp. 54, 55.

ties; and one of them was a passage from the Epistle of Pope Gregory<sup>1</sup>, which speaks of the *army* of the Pontifical priesthood. The words, as he quoted them from the original Latin, were, *Sacerdotum præparatus est exercitus*; and those of the audience who were Popishly disposed, on their return home, immediately turned to the place cited; and to their unspeakable exultation, where Jewel had read *exercitus*, they found, in the printed copies, the word *exitus*. Instead, therefore, of an *army of priests*, (*exercitus sacerdotum*), Gregory—they discovered—had spoken of the *death, or murdering of priests*;—for such was the sense which they were pleased to give to the words *exitus sacerdotum*. The Bishop, therefore, was manifestly detected in playing foully with the text of St. Gregory, and endeavouring to turn it to the reproach of his adversaries! On this the Papists rejoiced, like men who have *found great spoil*; while the Protestants, on the contrary, were in no inconsiderable dismay. The triumph, however, was but of short duration. There was, fortunately, in the Church, an intelligent gentleman of the reformed principles, who bethought him of turning from the printed copies to the manuscripts; and there he found the words, even as they had been produced by Jewel—*exercitus sacerdotum*. On making this discovery, he lost no time; but immediately posted a public notice in the University, stating, that, whereas the Bishop had been defamed for falsifying, in his sermon, a passage from the Epistles of St. Gregory, it turned out that his citation was perfectly correct;

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. Epist. 38.

and desiring all, who still had any doubts, to satisfy themselves by the inspection of an ancient manuscript in the library of All Souls' College. This invitation soon set the matter at rest. Many persons actually came to examine the manuscript in question; and the result was that the Papists were covered with confusion<sup>1</sup>.

The last scene of Jewel's labours was the town of Lacock, in Wiltshire, where he had promised to preach. A gentleman, who saw him on his journey, discovering, from his appearance, that he was miserably indisposed, besought him to desist from his purpose; reminding him that the exertion might probably be fatal, and urging that it were better that the people should be disappointed of one sermon, than be finally deprived of such a preacher. Jewel, however, was deaf to all persuasion. He only replied, that it well became a Bishop to die in the pulpit. He accordingly persevered; and delivered his last

<sup>1</sup> This story is reported by Dr. Thomas James, in his treatise "on the corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, for maintenance of Popery" (p. 230; ed. 1688), on the authority of Mr. F. Mille, one of the clerks of the signet to his Majesty, James I., at that time a Fellow of considerable standing at All Souls' College. It is very easy to see how the mistake might have arisen. It might, possibly, have been a mere blunder, either of the printer, or of the copyists, from whose manuscripts the book was originally printed; but, more probably, it was occasioned by the abbreviations frequently used by the writers of manuscripts, before the invention of printing. Thus *exitus* might have been written, in some manuscripts, shortly, for *exercitus*. Omit the dash above the word,—(an error which might well happen, in the weariness of transcription or of typography),—and we have the Popish reading, *exitus*!

sermon from the fifth chapter of Galatians,—*Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh.* Having, with difficulty, finished his discourse, he rode to Monkton Farley; where his sickness and infirmity confined him to the bed from

His death.

which he was never taken alive. He was, at that time, wasted away almost to a skeleton; and endured extreme anguish from the violence of his disorder. But the Christian graces, which had been gloriously manifested in his life, now appeared to be stronger *than death*. His sufferings never wrung from him an expression of impatience; and, if he did not actually expire in the pulpit, he, at least, ended his days in the work of the ministry: for, in the midst of his mortal pains, he called his household together, and laboured for their edification, by an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. At the close of his address to the sorrowing bystanders, he spoke nearly as follows:—"I perceive clearly that I am about to go the way of all flesh. I feel the arrows of death fixed within me. I am, therefore, anxious, while yet the breath is in my body, and my gracious God will spare me the use of my tongue, to address my last words to you. It has always been my prayer to God, from the time at which, by his blessing, I became capable of understanding any thing, that I might be allowed to glorify his name by the sacrifice of my flesh, and set my seal to the truth, which I profess and have taught, by the oblation of my body. Since this has not been granted me, it is my consolation that I am now worn down and exhausted by my labours in his service. For, in the midst of my visitation of the people of God, my God himself hath

graciously visited me. With regard to my controversy with Harding, I protest that I encountered him, not for the purpose of disparaging his reputation, nor with the view of intentionally supporting any one erroneous doctrine, nor in order to win that emptiest of all things, the glory of this world. My sole object has been to serve God and his Church. My last sermon from the pulpit at St. Paul's, and my conference with certain of my brethren, relative to the discipline of ceremonies, and the state of our Church, were held by me, not that I might gratify any mortal living, nor that I might please the ears of men, nor that I might molest or exasperate any party which might entertain opinions different from my own. It was my only desire, that neither party might prejudice the other, and that charity might be shed abroad upon the hearts of our brethren, by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us. And my prayer to the Almighty and most gracious God, is, that of his infinite mercy, he will vouchsafe either to convert or to confound the Roman Pontiff, the author, the sower, and the standard-bearer, of all the rebellions, dissensions, and schisms, in the Christian world; who, wherever he has planted his foot, has scattered abroad the seeds of contention, and, as it were, thrown down bones for dogs to fight for. I also pray that he will long preserve her Majesty, the Queen, and that he will govern and defend the Parliament; that he will multiply and protect religious pastors; and will give true peace and Christian concord to the Church. I further request of you, who are now standing around me, and of all whom I may have offended, that you will grant me your forgiveness; and that you will do



this one last good office of charity to a dying man : namely, that, since my hour is at hand, and all the moisture of my body is dried up, you will aid me by your own prayers, when you perceive that my own are becoming languid, through the weakness of the flesh. If I have, heretofore, taught you, and many others, now is the time in which I, in my turn, may be edified and confirmed by you." He then desired that the 71st Psalm might be sung. At the words, *Thou, O Lord, art my hope and my trust, from my youth*, he cried out, "Thou, Lord, hast been my *only* hope." And again—when they came to the verses, *Cast me not off in the time of old age; forsake me not when my strength faileth; nor when I am old and grey-headed, O Lord, forsake me not*,—he exclaimed, "Every one, who is dying, is in truth, old and grey-headed, and failing in strength." When the Psalm was over, he broke forth into frequent ejaculation ;—"Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace—Lord, suffer thy servant to come unto Thee—Lord, receive my spirit." On hearing one who was present praying that God would restore him to health, and give him back to the Church, he turned his eye towards the person, and repeated the words of Ambrose :—"I have not so lived, that I am ashamed of having lived ; neither do I fear death, for our God is merciful. A crown of righteousness is now laid up for me. Christ is my righteousness. Father, thy will be done : *thy* will, I say ; not mine, for mine is imperfect and depraved. O Lord, in Thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded. This is my *to-day*. To-day, I shall quickly come unto Thee. To-day, I shall see Thee, O Lord Jesus." His voice



now failing him, he signified to the bystanders, that they should continue to pray incessantly. And when he was unable to join them with his tongue, he expressed the consent of his soul with their supplications, by lifting up his hands and eyes, to his very last breath. When he had expired, his eyes were closed by his steward, Riley: and thus was finished the mortal course of this great and good man, on the 23d September, 1571, before he had completed his fiftieth year<sup>1</sup>.

His memory  
slandered by  
the Papists.

That the memory of this formidable champion of the reformed faith should escape the persecution of Romish calumny, was not to be expected by any, who were but moderately acquainted with the very unscrupulous spirit of the Romish system. There can scarcely be mentioned any eminent Protestant teacher, whose name the Papists have not attempted to dishonour and deface by some contemptible fiction. Every one, for instance, has heard the story of Luther's intimate communion with the Evil One! But it may not, perhaps, be equally well known, that certain persons, of no mean estimation, disgraced themselves by circulating the atrocious falsehood, that he went to bed one night egregiously drunk, and that he was found dead there the next morning; and further, that Justus Jonas, whom they reported to have been Luther's cook, perished in the same brutish manner<sup>2</sup>. The memory of Martin Bucer was treated quite as unceremoniously. Not only was it affirmed that, in his dying moments he denied that Jesus Christ was

<sup>1</sup> Humph. p. 252—257.

<sup>2</sup> Id. p. 262.

the Messiah ; but that, during his life, he had been in constant and familiar consultation with a quadruped ! It happened that Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk, had presented Bucer with a cow, as a mark of kind attention for the religious instruction which she and her family had received from him. By way of recreation he would occasionally walk out into the meadows, to look at the animal, and possibly to caress it. This was enough for the credulity, or the malice, of the Romanists. And, accordingly, it was soon whispered throughout the University of Cambridge, that Martin Bucer had learned all the heresy which he vented in the schools, from a wicked spirit, disguised in the form of a heifer<sup>1</sup>. After this, it will scarcely be surprising that Bishop Jewel should be provided by them with *his* familiar, in the shape of a huge cat. It is probable enough that the Bishop may have had a favourite of that species frequently with him in his library, during his hours of severe and solitary study. But, however this may be, it was confidently asserted by his enemies, that he derived all his prodigious resources of learning and eloquence from the inspiration of an evil genius, under the appearance of a monstrous creature of that description ; and, not only so, but that his insidious and *cat-like* temper was to be ascribed to the same demoniacal influence. They who could believe that Jewel was, after all, little better than a vulgar wizard, were not likely to be much startled at any other assertions, to his dishonour. Hence it was widely circulated, that he was anxious for retaining the use

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey, p. 260.

of the crucifix, in private and public devotion ; and that, in his last hours, the illustrious Apologist of the Church of *England*, had penitently renounced his errors, and wished to die in peace and communion with the Church of *Rome*. Others, on the contrary, there were, who declared that he had expired in the agonies of remorse and despair ; and that the last words he uttered were, that *the Lord had confounded him*,—a tale, which, doubtless, had its origin in the fact, that, on his death-bed, he ejaculated, in the language of the *Te Deum*, “ O Lord, in thee have I trusted ; *let me never be confounded* <sup>1</sup> !”

The remains of Jewel were deposited almost in the middle of the choir of Salisbury Cathedral. It was generally desired that his friend Laurence Humphrey, then Professor of Divinity at Oxford, should preach his funeral sermon. It so happened, however, that the prevalence of the plague, in that year, had driven him from Oxford ; so that the messenger, who was to carry the application to him, was unable to find him. This last office of respect was, however, performed, in the morning, by a learned divine, named Giles Laurence ; and in the afternoon, another sermon, on the same subject, was delivered

<sup>1</sup> Lord Bacon's Works, vol. ii. p. 59. Ed. 1778. “ Observations on a Libel,” &c. &c. So impudent and so flagitious were the falsehoods, which the Papists were in the habits of circulating, respecting the leading Reformers, that the first biographer of Jewel has thought it needful to introduce into his work a brief notice of the pious and joyful departure of the most eminent of them ; namely, Wiclif, Hus, Anne Boleyn, Luther, Jonas, Melanchthon, Pomeranus, Ecolampadius, Erasmus, Oporinus, Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, Musculus, Calvin. See Humphrey, p. 258—266.

by one William Holcot, a gentleman of good family and estate, who, though most probably in orders, was without a cure, and laboured as a gratuitous preacher of the Gospel<sup>1</sup>. The loss of Jewel was universally and bitterly deplored. He was lamented by none more deeply than by the Primate, Archbishop Parker; who had always regarded him with the warmest attachment<sup>2</sup>. His memory was, also, signally honoured by Gaultier, one of the most distinguished luminaries of Zurich; who, in a letter addressed by him to certain English Bishops, declared that his brethren esteemed the death of Jewel as a wound inflicted, not only on the Church of England, but on the whole Church of Christ, of which he was a burning and a shining light; that, now, his blessed spirit lived with his Lord and Master, Christ; and that he left on earth a regret for his irreparable loss, and a name whose reputation could never die<sup>3</sup>." The learned men of the age, both Englishmen and foreigners, were anxious to honour his memory by their encomiums: and, unhappily for the fame of some of them, it was their pleasure to testify their admiration and their grief, in metre. His biographer has preserved for us a large collection of exceedingly bad verses, in which the divines and scholars of that time sung the praises of the incomparable Bishop Jewel: and he apprizes us that these formed only a portion of the laudatory performances which his death called forth. Part of these effusions are in Hebrew, part of them in Greek, but by far the greater number

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker. B. iv. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. i. part i. p. 420. Oxf. ed.

<sup>3</sup> Strype, Parker. B. iv. c. 5.

in Latin. The *name* of the deceased was an invaluable resource in the work of panegyric. It would, of course, occur to poets, that the Church had lost her brightest *jewel*; and this thought, many of them have contrived to present to us, in a great variety of forms, as intelligibly as they could through the medium of a classic tongue<sup>1</sup>. All this literary trifling may appear to us egregiously unworthy of the memory of so great and holy a man. But it was the fashion of the day: and, at least, it is so far interesting and important, that it manifests the exalted estimation in which he was held throughout Protestant Europe. An epitaph was drawn up for him by Laurence Humphrey, in which the favourite allusion to his *name* is not forgotten. A part of this epitaph was engraved on a plate of brass, which was also decorated with the arms of his family, and affixed to his grave-stone<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> These testimonies occupy nearly thirty pages at the end of Humphrey's volume. One of the versifiers consigns the dust of Jewel to the regions of *Proserpine*, while his spirit wanders amid the light of *Jove*!

<sup>2</sup> The Epitaph by Humphrey is as follows:—

D.

Johanni Juello, Anglo, Devoniensi,  
Ex antiquâ Juellorum Familiâ, Budenæ, oriundo :  
Academiæ Oxoniensis Laudatissimo Alumno ;  
Marianâ Tempestate per Germaniam Exuli ;  
Præsuli,  
Regnante Elizabethâ Reginâ,  
Sarisburiensis Diœceseôs ;  
(Cui, per Annos xi. Menses ix. summâ fide  
Et integritate præfuit),  
Religiosissimo ; Viro singulari Eruditione,

[Ingenio

The anxiety of Jewel for the promotion of sound learning and religious education, was manifested in his will. <sup>His will.</sup> The amount of property left by him is not known. It can scarcely have been great. But, whatever it was, the chief portion of it was bequeathed by him for the maintenance of students. The rest he left partly to his brother, and partly in legacies to several friends<sup>1</sup>. He, doubtless, remembered that his own opportunities of usefulness in the Church were principally to be ascribed to the early liberality of pious and benevolent friends; and he must have felt that the cause of literature and religion had the first claim on his posthumous bounty.

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Ingenio acutissimo, judicio gravissimo,  
 Pietate, Humanitate, egregiè  
 Prædito;  
 Theologiæ, cum primis, cognitione  
 Instructissimo;  
 GEMMÆ GEMMARUM;  
 Immature fato, Monkton-farleæ, prærepto;  
 Sarisburix sepulto;  
 Cælorum Civi;  
 Laurentius Humphredus  
 Hoc Monumentum Observantiæ ergo,  
 Et Benevolentix, consecravit,  
 Anno Salutis Humanæ  
 Christi Merito restitutæ  
 MDLXXI. ix. Kal. Oct.  
 Vixit Annos xlix, Menses iv.  
 Ps. cxii.  
 In Memoriâ æternâ erit Justus.

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<sup>1</sup> Strype, Parker, b. iv. c. 5.

Humphrey's  
Life of Jewel.

It appears that, soon after Jewel's decease, it was an object of some anxiety to find a biographer qualified to do justice to his memory: and Laurence Humphrey was the man fixed upon by the Archbishop, Matthew Parker, and by Edmund Sandys, Bishop of London. They, accordingly, made their wishes known to him; and it is greatly to his honour, that he not only undertook the task, but performed it in a spirit of the warmest zeal and affection. It will be remembered that Humphrey had once been opposed, if not actually defeated, in his preferment, by Jewel's inflexible fidelity to the existing discipline of the Church. On that occasion he had appealed, and (so far as we are informed) had appealed utterly in vain, to the friendship of the Bishop. But all this seems to have been wholly forgotten by him, when he accepted the office of recording the eminent virtues and services of his friend. In the dedication of his work to the Prelates at whose request he had undertaken it, he thinks it necessary to apologize for his slowness in the execution of it. And yet it would appear that there was no reasonable cause for any complaint of tardiness. The dedication itself is dated on the 23d of September, 1573; from which it is manifest that just two years had elapsed between the death of Jewel, and the completion of his biographer's narrative. Of this period,—as Humphrey himself remarks,—one year was not more than might fitly be employed in the careful collection of materials: and the remaining twelvemonth would scarcely furnish more than sufficient fragments of leisure, to a man



whose time was demanded by other manifold and important occupations. The authorities on which he chiefly relied were Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, the tutor and friend of Jewel,—Giles Laurence,—the surviving brother of the Bishop,—and John Garbrand; which last was the Editor of certain of Jewel's sermons, and has given some account of him in a preface to the Bishop's "View of the Pope's 'Seditious Bull.'" From these, and other sources, Humphrey has compiled a narrative, not very remarkable, it is true, for lucid arrangement, or correct taste; but admirable for the cordiality with which it enters into the essential and transcendent merits of the champion of our Church.

Another cause of delay, alleged by Humphrey, was his desire to hold back, until the Papists had vented their calumnies, which, he foresaw, they would actively, and most unscrupulously, circulate, for the purpose of dishonouring the memory of the departed, and which Humphrey was anxious for an opportunity of refuting<sup>1</sup>. They had, already, been so indefatigable in the work of slander and invective, during his life, that it was not to be imagined that their malice would sleep after his decease. "Jewel"—he says, in his dedication to Parker and Sandys—"requires the shadow of your protection; for his enemies have, without a blush, not merely attacked him with the voice of obloquy, but have pierced him with the

<sup>1</sup> "Cogitabam, præterea, exorituos quosdam, qui defuncto insultarent; quæ conjectura me non fefellit: quorum ego cavillis, hac eâdem operâ, aliquo modo occurrendum judicavi." *Humphr. Epist. Nuncup.*

sting of their envenomed writings. I will not speak of all the falsehoods that they have dispersed. Their authors are sufficiently convicted, partly by their own showing, partly by the judgment of others. Time has exposed many of their vanities ; and some I have touched upon in this history. Of late, a multitude of libellers, like a flock of evil-omened birds, have taken wing, and chattered, with an odious din, against this noble assertor of the truth. Nicolas Sanders, for instance, has issued forth,—that most assiduous disciple of the school of Lovain,—and has stigmatized our champion as a Bishop of Salisbury falsely so called ; and has affirmed that he bragged like a strippling, when he declared, from the pulpit, that no passage could be produced from Holy Writ, in which the Roman Pontiff was styled the universal head of the Church. He has, further, averred that Harding had so manfully put him down, that Jewel was fain to procure a Royal edict for the suppression of all books of the same stamp, with a menace of the severest penalties for disobedience. And many a cuckoo from beyond the sea, has since flown abroad, imitating the voice of Sanders, and iterating his worthless gabble. Of these the foremost is Pontacus of Bourdeaux, who has denounced Jewel for an heresiarch, a mere *superintendent*, a pretended Bishop ; and has roundly asserted that he has twice put forth bulky volumes stuffed with lies ; and that these impostures had been so thoroughly exposed by Harding, Sanders, Heskin, Alan, Rastal, Dorman, Marshal, and others, that, hitherto, he and his retainers have been silenced, and, at this moment, are altogether mute."

In a subsequent passage, after adjuring the gover-

nors of the Church to take effectual steps for her protection, by selecting worthy and able men for promotion, he adds,—“We have before us, in Jewel, the exemplar of a faithful minister. He was blessed with a mind admirably constituted; he was endowed with an eminent genius; he was rich in literary resources; he was happy in a commanding renown; he was honoured with the love and esteem of the best men of his own country. But he is gone. It can scarcely be hoped that they who succeed him should be his equals. Let them, however, even by some degrees, be his inferiors, still the succession of the fathers of our Church may be worthily and effectively sustained . . . . . The more numerous, however, they shall be, who resemble him, the more generally will be proclaimed the felicity of those who are entrusted with the government of the Church—the more widely will be diffused the glory of Christ, and the brightness of his Gospel—the more potently will the heads of the Roman Hydra be lopped off . . . . I trust that the Lord will hereafter send many a labourer like Jewel into his vineyard; and that the many-headed and many-coloured Pope may be hissed off the ecclesiastical stage . . . . . He has, hitherto, resembled the maniac, who held his hands continually up towards heaven, and refused to let them down, even at the hour of his meals, lest the skies should fall for the want of his support. But his infatuation must be monstrous, if he *still* believes that our Church cannot be upheld, or ruled, unless it be propped up and buttressed by his power and his trafficking.—May the gracious and all-powerful God grant that, as glass is made out of fern, not while it is living and grow-

ing, but after it is reduced to powder,—so from the ashes of Jewel may new Phœnixes arise, to the glory of God's Church, and the honour of its faithful rulers."

Towards the close of his address, he says that one special design of his work was to hold up a mirror to the students of our Universities, wherein they might behold an image, according to which they might endeavour to model their own lives. They might there see from what beginnings Jewel set out on his career: what method he observed in his studies; with what industry, and with what keenness, he pursued his purpose; with what felicity and steadiness he attained to the object of his aim. He never was called away from his pursuit by the seductions of pleasure. He scarcely allowed time enough, from his intense literary toil, even for the restoration of his strength. Upon most men death springs with an impetuous step. But Jewel, by the incessant labours with which he exhausted his powers, seems to have given wings to the feet of the Destroyer, and almost to have invited his approach. The work would, likewise, be a mirror to our divines. For they who might intently look upon it, would never waste their thoughts and their exertions upon unprofitable and nugatory matters. Neither would they ever turn diseased or feeble minds into the pernicious ways of error; but, after the example of Jewel, would valiantly defend the truth against all the weapons of her enemies.

Such are the views and feelings with which Humphrey did his pious office to the memory of Jewel: and, we repeat, they are most honourable to the

kindness of his heart, the candour of his understanding, and the warmth of his zeal for the essential interests of Christianity. It is to be lamented, indeed, that such a man should ever have been partially alienated from his national Church, by a fastidious aversion for certain innocent and decorous solemnities, which the fathers of our Reformation deemed worthy to be preserved. But we can freely forgive him this aberration from good feeling and good taste, when we contemplate the generous spirit in which he embalms the name of his venerable brother in Christ. We can even forgive him for his evident anxiety to enlist Jewel among the patrons of Non-conformity. At all events, he stands in most creditable contrast with the malignant and factious zealots of that party, who vied with the Papists in loading with calumny the great defender of our National Reformation.

As an indication of the high estimate formed by the Primate Matthew Parker, of the labours of the Bishop, it may here be noticed that, in the year after Jewel's death, he signified to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, his wish that, for the better instruction of the people in the principles of true religion, against the errors of Popery, a copy of the Bishop of Salisbury's *last book* might be placed in every church of that diocese. This wish of the Archbishop was in part the result of a suggestion made to him, both by one of the Lords of the Council, and also by a gentleman named Heydon, an intelligent and active Protestant of the county of Norfolk. And, in his communication to Parkhurst, he expressed a persuasion that the Bishop would manifest his regard for the memory of his

Jewel's *Defence*, &c., set up in Churches.

former pupil, and his zeal for the cause of the Church, by complying promptly with this request.

It seems, nevertheless, that Parkhurst was not without his misgivings. He was fearful lest the volume should spread among his people the habit of captious discussion. And these apprehensions he very honestly imparted to the Archbishop. He replied, that "as he had singular cause to allow well of the author of that work, so did he conjecture, that the placing of controversies in open Churches might be a great occasion to confirm the adversaries in their opinions. For they, having not wherewith to purchase Harding's book, would, then, find the same already provided for them; and were like unto the spider, sucking only that might serve their purposes, and contenting themselves from reading that was most wholesome, would not once vouchsafe to look upon the same. These (he said) were but his fears only: and, therefore, till he should hear further from his Grace, he did not think it good to move the same to his diocese. But, otherwise, as his Grace should advise, it should be commended after Easter to them<sup>1</sup>."

It must be confessed that these apprehensions were not wholly unreasonable. The Bishop's "*Last Book*," be it remembered, was his Defence of the Apology against Harding; which contained the Apology itself, together with Harding's Confutation, and the Bishop's Reply, all in a single volume, and arranged in paragraphs over against each other. The effect of this,

<sup>1</sup> There is some obscurity here; but the words are given as reported by Strype, Parker. B. iv. c. 13.



(as Parkhurst observes), would be, to furnish those who were Popishly inclined, with the arguments from Lovain, which otherwise they would have no opportunity of seeing: or to apply Parkhurst's own illustration,—to provide the *spiders* with their appropriate poison, without much chance of their ever tasting the antidote. These objections, however, made no impression on the Archbishop. He persevered in his determination; and the parishes of Parkhurst's diocese were, accordingly, fortified with the controversial writings of Bishop Jewel. It is well known that, eventually, almost all the parishes in England were similarly furnished<sup>1</sup>. Fragments of this venerable volume are to be seen, to this day, in some churches; together with the chain by which it was attached to the reading-desk provided for it.

The *Reply* of Jewel to Harding's Answer on the challenge, and his *Defence* of the Apology, were, each of them, composed in English. The *Defence* remained inaccessible to learned foreigners, till the year 1600; when a Latin translation of it was published, at Geneva, by Thomas Bradock, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. The *Reply* was more fortunate, in this respect; for a Latin version of it was executed and published, in 1578, by William Whitaker, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards the Queen's Professor of Divinity in that University. The work was dedicated to Grindal, then Archbishop of Canterbury; Sandys, Archbishop of York; Aylmer, Bishop of London; Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester; Freke,

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 738. Oxf. ed.



Bishop of Norwich; and Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's. In his Dedication the translator addresses these Prelates as follows:—"You all loved Jewel affectionately while he was living; and, while you live, you will not cease to cherish his memory most warmly, now that he is dead. I will not now enlarge on my reasons for especially dedicating my labours to yourselves; for that would require a long exposition, now altogether needless. Neither will I dwell on the reasons, however urgent, which have bound me to this duty and service. I shall, however, consider myself as highly favoured, if I should understand that my work has your approbation, and that of others of the same stamp. Nor do I desire any ampler reward for my toil, than the assurance, that, in your judgment I have not deserved ill of the Church<sup>1</sup>."—It appears, therefore, that, either during his life, or after his death, the principal writings of Bishop Jewel became the possession, not only of his own countrymen, but of all learned Protestants throughout the Continent of Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, Ann. vol. ii. B. ii. c. 14.

## CHAPTER IX.

### JEWEL'S WRITINGS.

*Jewel's Writings—Controversy with Harding.*

THE career of Jewel as an author did not commence until after his return from banishment. In the correspondence between him and Doctor Cole, on occasion of his celebrated Challenge, Cole had contemptuously said, "I see well ye write much, and read little." To which Jewel replies as follows,—“How are ye so privy to my reading? Wise men avouch no more than they know. Ye lacked shift, when ye were driven to write thus. I assure you I have not been so slack a student these twenty years, but that, besides other old writers of divers sorts, Greek and Latin, I have not spared to read over even such as have written of your side; as Roffensis, Pigghius, Hofmasterus, Echius, Hosius, and such others. *And yet, until this day, I never set abroad in print twenty lines.* But this is your old wont, to make the people think we read nothing else but *twopenny doctors*, as ye call them. As, in the disputation at Westminster, ye would seem to stand in doubt whether we were able to understand you, or no, when ye speak a little Latin; and, as of late, ye doubted not to say that

Master Doctor Martyr was not able to make a *Syllogismus*. Which thing indeed is true as the rest of your religion<sup>1</sup>."

It is almost amusing to hear a man like Cole venturing to disparage the learning of Jewel;—of Jewel, who, since his boyhood, had been consuming his days and nights, and wasting his health and strength, in literary vigils, and who was near upon his fortieth year, before he interrupted the work of accumulation by the labour of original composition. The calumniator, however, found it expedient to steal, as he best might, out of correspondence with this *unlearned* man; and Jewel published no more until the appearance of his "Apology."

Of the general merits of that performance it is needless to speak. It has long taken its place among the standard works of our national theology. We have to consider it, here, chiefly as having, together with the Challenge, given rise to a controversy, which involves nearly every essential question in dispute between the Romanists and the Protestants. For it will be recollected, that the Challenge, pronounced in 1560, produced an Answer from Harding early in 1563, which was followed by a Reply from the Bishop in August, 1565; and this again by a Rejoinder from Harding; that the Apology, which was published in 1562, drew forth a "*Confutation*" from Harding, in April, 1565, which was met by the Bishop's immortal "*Defence*" in October, 1567; and, lastly, that a second impression

<sup>1</sup> Reply to Cole, pp. 23, 24. Works, pp. 23, 24. Ed. 1611.

of the "Defence" was completed at the end of the year 1569, and was prefaced by a notice of an intermediate production of Harding's, entitled, a "Detection of Sundry Foul Errors, &c." in the Bishop's Vindication<sup>1</sup>. Our observations on the controversy, of which the above is the series, may properly be introduced by some remarks on the spirit and the manner which distinguish the two combatants.

In the first place, then, nothing can be more obvious than the advantage of Jewel over his antagonist in point of courtesy and temper. The age in which they wrote was but coarse and unrefined. The graces of controversial writing were but little cultivated; and rancorous abuse was, very generally, the condiment employed to give spirit and pungency to the ordinary ingredients of religious discussion. But Harding exceeds even the savage licence of that rude period. He exhibits, almost throughout, the malignity of renegade in its fiercest rancour. It is true, that he claimed *for himself* the praise of singular meekness and moderation. In his preface to the Confutation of the Apology, he does not scruple to say,—“The manner of writing I have here used, in comparison of our adversaries, is *sober, soft, and gentle*; and, in respect of their heat, bitterness, and railing, as many tell me, *over cold, sweet, and mild*.” On this, Jewel addresses his reader thus:—“Good Christian reader, I have here set before thee certain principal flowers of Mr. Harding's *modest speech*. Taste no more than may well like thee; and judge thereof as thou shalt see cause.” And then he sub-

<sup>1</sup> See ante, c. vi.

joins a collection of specimens, occupying nearly two folio pages, which unquestionably shows, that Harding was *modest*, indeed, in the estimate put forth by him of his own mastery over all the resources of invective! His violence is sometimes insufferably brutal and offensive. "Rail"—he exclaims—"until your tongues burn in your heads in hell-fire."—"Bark, until your bellies break, ye hell-hounds of Luther and Zuinglius."—"Your objections be as common with you as lice be with beggars, and lies with heretics."—"As I cannot well take a hair from your lying beard, so I wish that I could pluck malice from your blasphemous heart."—"This is the chief argument ye make, in all that huge dunghill of your stinking Martyrs."—Eruptions of virulence like this, though they cannot affect the merits of the question in dispute, inevitably engender a suspicion, that the combatant can have been in no fit temper of mind or heart, to form an impartial judgment on the matter.

The impudence of Harding, in claiming advantage from a comparison, in this respect, between himself and his adversary, must be evident to any one who has ever looked into the dispute. The calmness and self-possession of Jewel are never ruffled for a moment. He writes in the spirit and the manner of one, who was, not arrogantly, but sedately and habitually, conscious of his own superiority and strength. I am unable to recollect a single passage in which he disgraces himself by an imitation of his enemy. The hardihood, the evasions, the perversions, of his antagonist, betray him, indeed, very frequently, into a strain of reproof, sometimes solemn and impressive, sometimes playful or caustic, but always sober and

quiet. One example may be sufficient to convey a notion of his style, in his lighter and more sportive moments. In his Answer to the ninth article of Jewel's Challenge, (which relates to the Romish practice of hanging up the Sacrament under a canopy,) Harding had observed that the use of the pix and canopy, had naturally grown out of the custom of reserving the Sacrament. And then he adds, "Mr. Jewel, knowing that right well, guilefully refraineth from mention of that principal matter ; and, the better to make up his heap of articles against the Sacrament, by denial, reproveth the hanging of it up under a canopy : thereby showing himself like to Momus, who espying nothing reproveable in fair Venus, found fault with her slipper."—To this, after discussing the point itself, Jewel replies as follows : "Forasmuch as Mr. Harding hath leisure to call to mind his old fable of Momus, Venus, and such like, —indeed they say Momus was wont to espy faults, and to control all the gods without exception, even the great *Jupiter* himself, that sate in *Rome*, in the capitol ; and therefore his office, oft-times, was not as thankful as some others. But one great fault he found with Vulcan, for the making of man, for that he had not set a grate, or a window, at his breast, that others might peer in, and espy some part of his secret thoughts. If Mr. Harding had such a grate or window at his breast, and men might look in, and see his conscience, I doubt not but that they should see many more sparks of God's truth, than, as now, outwardly do appear. As for his fair lady Venus, whereby he meaneth his Church of Rome, the world seeth, and he himself knoweth, she hath been taken

in open adultery : and Phœbus, the Son of God, with the heavenly beams of his holy word, hath revealed it. O, would to God we had no cause to say, with the prophet Esay, *How is the faithful city become an harlot !* Verily, *Momus* shall not need now to reprove her slipper ! He shall, rather, have cause to say, *From the sole of the foot to the top of her head, there is no whole part in her.* For so St. Bernard complaineth of her miserable state, in his time."

If any one should desire further proof of Jewel's incomparable sobriety in debate, he may easily satisfy himself without the labour of examining the whole of this voluminous controversy. He has only to peruse his Preface to the second impression of his Defence, in which the Bishop exposes the almost incredible infatuation and rashness of his adversary, in daring to charge him with errors, and lies, and cavils, and slanders ; and to do this with as much noise and turbulence, " as if Hercules Furens or Ajax Mastigophorus were newly turned into English." We may here, indeed, behold the " whelp under the paw of the lion." The strength of the majestic beast, however, is displayed, without his fury. He is, throughout, perfectly sedate, and at his ease. " Being moved," he says, " eftsoones, to print my late book, ' The Defence of the Apology of the Church of England,' I thought it good, by a short augmentation, to discharge all such quarrels as Mr. Harding hath, in his *Detection*, moved against certain parcels of the same ; and therein to use such temperance of words, not as may best answer Mr. Harding's *eloquence*, but as may be comely for the cause."



In point of learning, it cannot, for a moment, be questioned that Jewel was, if possible, still more transcendently superior to his antagonist, than he was in sobriety of temper, and courtesy of style. The powers of Harding have always been regarded as respectable; but, whatever may have been his natural abilities, it is quite certain that he had never prosecuted theological studies with any thing at all approaching to the ardour and perseverance of Jewel. He has the effrontery, indeed, to ascribe his own conversion to his examination of the ancient authorities: but the former instability of his faith, and the suddenness of his final change, on the accession of Queen Mary, render this assertion altogether incredible and ridiculous. That Jewel did not believe it, is evident from his own solemn words to Harding<sup>1</sup>: “If,” he says, “some simple one or other of them, whom you so uncourteously have despised, should say thus unto you,—Mr. Harding, not long sithence you taught us the Gospel, even in like sort and form, in all respects, as it is taught us now. We remember both your words, and also the manner of your utterance. You told us of the paper walls and painted fires of Purgatory. Ye said Rome was the sink of Sodom. Ye said your Mass was a heap of idolatry, and the mystery of iniquity. Ye wished your voice had been equal to the great bell of Oseney, that ye might ring in the dull ears of the deaf Papists. No man was so vehement and so earnest as you. The whole University, and city of Oxford, the Cross at

<sup>1</sup> In the “Answer to Mr. Harding’s Conclusion,” at the end of Jewel’s Reply, upon the Challenge.

St. Paul's, and other like places of great concourse, can well record it. Ye bade us then believe you, upon your credit; and we believed you. The Prince died. Another was placed. *Suddenly, ye had forgotten all that ye had taught us before; and had, as suddenly, learned other things,—all contrary to the former,—which ye told us ye never knew before.* And yet, with one face, and one conscience, ye required us earnestly to believe you still, even as we had done before. As though your bare word were the rule of our faith, and, whatsoever you should say, true or false, we simple people were bound of necessity to believe you. Howbeit, we think, if you tell us truth now, then ye deceived us before; then, ye deceive us now. And thus, it cannot be denied, this way or that way, ye have deceived us. And how may we know, whether you speak as you think, or dissemble with us now as you did before? Surely St. James saith that a man of a double mind is ever inconstant in all his ways. We marvelled how ye could attain this doctrine; specially in so short a time; but, most of all, in such perfection. For, as the Scriptures are large; and, we hear say, the Councils are sundry; the Doctors' volumes are long and many; so suddenly, *in seven days*, to read them all,—it was not possible. You may, by your eloquence, persuade us many things; but this one thing ye can never persuade us. You wanted time. It is not credible. It is not possible. Therefore, ye must needs say, ye were taught these things, even as the Prophets were, by revelation. If any of all your old hearers would thus put you in remembrance,—alas! what answer could you make him?"

“ But it was not you, Mr. Harding: it was *the time*. If the time had been one, you had still continued one. But ye were forced to know that ye knew not; and to think that ye thought not; and to believe that ye believed not. Howbeit, St. Hilary saith, *Quæ ex necessitate est, fides non est*: forced faith is no faith.”

The probability is, that, whatever learning may have been produced by Harding in his conflict with the Bishop of Salisbury, was chiefly from the joint-stock of his brethren at Lovain. That it was very much the habit of the polemical writers for the Papacy to come abroad in bravery that was not their own, is very plainly intimated by Jewel himself, in his Defence of the Apology. In answer to Harding's outcry, that the Apology itself came forth without the names of the Prelates and Clergy of England, he observes,—“ If names be so necessary, we have the names of the whole Clergy of England to confirm the faith of our doctrine; *and your name, Mr. Harding, as you can well remember, among the rest; unless, as ye have already denied your faith, so ye will now, also, deny your name!* To conclude,—it is greater modesty to publish our own books without a name, than, as you do, to publish other men's books in your own names. For, indeed, Mr. Harding, the books you send so thick over are not yours. Ye are but translators: ye are no authors. If every bird should fetch again his own feathers, alas! your poor chickens would die for cold<sup>1</sup>.” It is scarcely to be imagined that Jewel would commit himself by an

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apolog. part i. c. iv. div. 2.

insinuation like this, if the practice to which he alludes were not tolerably notorious. It seems, however, that Harding was nowise daunted by this imputation. In an evil hour, he had the rashness to retort upon the Bishop the charge of a want of learning! This silly slander is noticed by Jewel in the following language<sup>1</sup>:—"Specially above all other charges, ye say that *Sir Defender* is unlearned; that his best skill is in a few figures of rhetoric; that he hath neither Greek, nor logic, nor philosophy, nor divinity; that he hath read no kind of Doctors, nor new nor old, nor of his own, nor of others; that all the furniture of his book was brought to his hand, some by *Greek-readers*, some by *School-masters*, some by *Civilians*, some by *Canonists*, some by *Summists*, some by *Glossers*, some by others; that he hath nothing else but patched note-books, huddled together by scraps and pieces. Some part hereof, or rather the whole together, without exception, to do you pleasure, I would easily have granted you, Mr. Harding, upon small suit, with more favour, and with less ado. *Take from me what learning ye list: distrain it and pound it at your pleasure; I will never trouble you with REPLEVIN!* Howbeit, if you utter all this of your indifferent judgment, and certain knowledge, yet is it impertinent; for we plead of *faith*, and not of learning. If, otherwise, ye speak it of heat of mind, and abundance of choler, and thereupon thus

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Harding subjoined to his Defence of the Apology, and dated October 27, 1567. The "*Rejoinder*," to which it alludes, must have been published by Harding in the interval between the appearance of Jewel's *Reply to the Answer on the Challenge*, and that of the *Defence*, &c.

proclaim it to the world, it is great folly. Truly, ye never saw *Sir Defender's* books, nor never set your foot within his study. A wise judge will seldom pronounce before he know. If it shall please you, for trial hereof, to send your friend, he may, happily, see that *Sir Defender* hath all these *Summists*, and *Canonists*, and *Greek-readers*, and *School-masters*, of his own" . . . . . "If any praise fall out in this respect, bestow it freely on *Greek-readers*, and *School-masters*, who, in your judgment, have best deserved it. It shall be sufficient for me to have said the truth; which, though it be never so simple, is yet able to remove a mountain of learning. But happy are your brethren of Lovaine, that are so speedily grown learned, not by great study, I trow, but rather by destiny. As soon as they had once savoured the soil of that country, they looked only upon two poor titles of the law—*De Maledicis*; and *de Clerico promotus per saltum*: and suddenly they were transformed; and now go for doctors! As for your learning, Mr. Harding, we never reprov'd it; howbeit, greatly to fear it we have no cause. God give you grace ye may wholly turn it to his glory; lest, in the day of the Lord, it be laid against you. He is *over well* learned, that bendeth his learning against God. But if we be so utterly void of all manner of learning,—painting, as you say, our books and margins with the names and authorities of so many doctors,—what may your friends, then, think of you, that standing so long in the defence of your *Private Mass*, are not yet able to allege one Doctor, nor Greek, nor Latin, nor one, nor other? It seemeth great marvel ye should have such abun-

dance of *Doctors*, and show so few; specially where it standeth so much upon you to open your store. Consider, I beseech you, your late rejoinder; wherein, as it is thought, nothing, of your part, is left untouched. Of the seven and twenty Articles contained in my Reply, ye have taken upon you to answer only one. And yet, of that same one, ye have scarcely touched the tenth part. Your purpose should have been, herein, by evident examples and good authorities, substantially to have proved your *Private Mass*." It is impossible to doubt that we are here reading the words of a man, who was serenely confident in his own powers and resources, and who could easily afford to be calm, and even good-humoured, with a petulant but feeble calumniator.

With respect to the controversy itself, it is extremely important to remark the principles on which it is conducted by Jewel. The reader may, perhaps, have been almost tempted to infer from several passages in his history, that he brought back with him from the continent nothing but the general spirit of *Protestantism*; and that he left behind him the peculiar spirit of the Church of England. A more attentive consideration of those passages must satisfy us that this was not the case. It is true that he was in constant trepidation lest any thing should be preserved, which might restore to the ancient corruptions their hold upon the public mind. And hence it was that, for some time, he was anxious that the Church should throw aside certain rites and usages, which were thought by many to savour too rankly of Romish superstition; and which seemed to threaten the Establishment with the miseries of discord and confusion.



But it is quite indisputable that his readiness to concede was confined to matters purely superficial, and, in their own nature, indifferent. That, in every essential question, he was faithful to the principles of the *English* Reformation, as distinguished from those which governed most of the Reformers of the continent, is clear from the whole tenor of his dispute with Harding. For he does not content himself with saying to his adversaries, "I defy you to find Romanism in the Bible." He goes further, and says, "I defy you to find it in the first six centuries; I defy you to uphold it by the authority of the earliest interpreters of the Bible; I defy you to establish it by the consent of those who, in primitive times, bare witness to the truth." Now, in doing this, he was true to the peculiar genius of our Anglo Catholic Church. Most other Protestant communities send every individual to the Bible alone; there to exercise his own private judgment, without reference to the judgment of primitive and catholic antiquity. The Church of Rome, on the contrary, sends her children to an infallible and living guide, whose prerogative it is to expound the *written* and *unwritten* word,—to interpret the Oracles both of Scripture and of Tradition. Whereas, the Church of England, on the one hand, acknowledges no authority as co-ordinate with the authority of the Bible; but, on the other hand, in determining the sense of the Bible, she listens with respect to the voice of the most ancient Fathers and Doctors; and not only with respect, but even with submission, where that voice is all but unanimous.

That the notions of Jewel were, in this particular,



strictly conformable to the principles of our Church, is manifest from his own statements. When Harding intimated that the authority of the Fathers had been discarded by Jewel, his reply was—"Here, Mr. Harding, ye have taken in hand a needless labour. You know right well, we despise not the authority of the holy Fathers. Throughout the whole discourse of this Apology, in defence of the *Catholic* truth of our religion, next unto God's holy word, we have used no proof or authority so much, as the expositions and judgments of the holy Fathers. We despise them not, therefore, but rather give God thanks, on their behalf, for that it hath pleased him to provide so worthy instruments for his Church; and, therefore, we justly reprove you, *for that, so unadvisedly and without cause, ye have forsaken* the steps of so holy Fathers. The four General Councils, wherein ye dwell so long, as they make nothing against us, so, in sundry points, they fight expressly against you." "To come near the matter, we say not that all cases of doubt are, by manifest and open words, plainly expressed in the Scriptures. For so, there should need no exposition. But we say, there is no case in religion so dark and doubtful, but it may necessarily be either proved or reproved, by collation and conference of Scriptures . . . . In this conference and judgment of the Holy Scriptures, we need oftentimes the discretion and wisdom of learned Fathers. Yet, notwithstanding, may we not give them herein greater credit than is convenient; or, than they themselves, if it were offered, would receive. We may reverently say of them, as Seneca, in the like case, sometimes said, *Non sunt Domini*,

*sed Duces nostri*, They are our Leaders, not our Lords. *They are not the truth of God itself, but only witnesses of the truth . . . .* Thus may you see, Mr. Harding, to what end the Bishops, in the Councils ye speak of, alleged the expositions of the ancient Fathers, and how far they weighed them under the authority of the Scriptures. In like sort, do we also, this day, allege against you, *the manifest, and undoubted, and agreeable judgments* of the most ancient and learned holy Fathers: and thereby, *as by approved and faithful witnesses*, we disclose the infinite follies and errors of your doctrine<sup>1</sup>."

We have here a simple and luminous direction to that middle path, which lies between a licentious exercise of private judgment, in the interpretation of Scripture, and a slavish submission of the judgment to a living and infallible authority. Of the evils incident to the first of these excesses, we have abundant examples, in the gradual decline and fall of many a Protestant society from the standard of primitive orthodoxy<sup>2</sup>. Of the abominable consequences which issue from the other, we may see the consummation, in that portentous maxim, *Sequuntur Scripturæ Ecclesiam, et non è converso*.

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. part i. c. ix. div. i.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious enough, that Harding seems to have apprehended, almost prophetically, the future declension of high Calvinism from the Trinitarian Doctrine. He says that the Fathers of Trent did not occupy themselves with determinations and decrees respecting the Trinity; for then the world had no need of any new determinations relative to that doctrine. And he adds—"What it shall have, hereafter, by occasion of your chief Master, John Calvin's doctrine, *it is more feared than yet perceived*." See Def. Apol. part vi. c. vii. div. 2.

“ The Scriptures follow the Church ; but contrariwise the Church followeth not the Scriptures !” Monstrous as this proposition may appear to us, it was not only gravely, but vehemently, contended for in the more palmy and towering days of the Romish supremacy : and, in truth, it seems to follow, by almost inevitable inference, from the avowed pretensions of the Romish Church. One occasion, on which it was most impudently put forth, is copiously adverted to by Jewel. When the Bohemians demanded the Sacrament in both kinds, according to Christ’s institution as recorded in the Scriptures, Cardinal Cusanus replied—first, that all the power and authority of Christ belonged to the Catholic Church,—that the Catholic Church was concentrated in the chair of St. Peter—and that obedience to that authority could never be sinful, however flagitious might be the commands which it imposed. He then goes on to say to the remonstrants—“ *You* allege that obedience must, in the first place, be rendered to Christ, then to the Church ; and that, if their commandments disagree, Christ, and not the Church, must be obeyed. Assuredly, herein is the beginning of all presumption, when particular men think their own judgment more agreeable to God’s commandments, than the judgment of the Universal Church. Understand then, that the Scriptures are to be adapted to the time, and to be variously understood ; so that, at one time, they may be expounded after the current and ordinary manner ; and, the custom being changed, the meaning of the Scripture may likewise be changed. It is no wonder that the practice of the Church should, at

one time, expound the Scriptures after one manner, and, at another time, after another manner. For the sense of the Scripture runneth with the practice of the Church. And the sense which concurs with the practice, is the quickening spirit. It is, therefore, a foolish argument, to impeach the universal order of the Church, by the Scriptures of them that have gone before us. For we read that the apostles delivered not the faith by the Scriptures. This is the judgment of all intelligent persons, who build up the authority and the meaning, of the Scriptures, on the authority of the Church, which receiveth one Scripture and refuseth another; and who do not, contrariwise, rest the stability of the Church on the authority of the Scriptures. You will say, perhaps, how shall the precepts of Christ be changed by the authority of the Church; so that they shall then only bind us, when to the Church it seemeth good? I answer, *there is nothing to be taken for Christ's commandment, save those things which are so received by the Church. When the Church hath once changed her judgment, the judgment of God is likewise changed*<sup>1</sup>."

Such was the commentary of Nicolas de Cusa, on

<sup>1</sup> See Def. Apol. pt. vi. c. xii. div. 4.—Whether this doctrine is *professed*, in terms, by the Romanists of the present day, it would probably be no easy matter to ascertain. But it is, even now, the acknowledged office of the Infallible Authority—(wherever it may reside)—to frame, as occasion may arise, new decisions, and expositions of the law; more comprehensive and explicit definitions of the unchanged and unchangeable faith. (See Doyle's Reply to Archbishop Magee's Charge, p. 64.) And surely the power of putting forth, from time to time, *new* expositions of the *immutable* creed, seems but little short of that insisted on by Cusanus.

the text in question. And much in the same spirit was the teaching of many others, among the most celebrated Romish doctors. If they are to be believed, the word of God is but a *lifeless matter*; a *black Gospel*; *inken Divinity*; a *nose of wax*; a *thing utterly void of authority in itself*; a *dumb judge*, that cannot speak but through the organ of the Church, namely, the Bishop of Rome and his conclave of Cardinals<sup>1</sup>. And from all this it may well appear how vainly the self called *Catholic Church* has vaunted her *immutable* theology: a boast which has been verified only in this,—that her rulers have claimed and exercised the *immutable* prerogative of making perpetual *change* and innovation. It is scarcely wonderful that such impieties should have driven many Protestants to the utter renunciation of all uninspired authority whatever, in the interpretation of Scripture, or the establishment of discipline. Fortunately, however, the Church of England was not frightened either from her faithfulness or her moderation, even by these prodigies of Romish arrogance. She has preserved, unshaken, her reverence for the determinations of the true and ancient *Catholic Church*. She ascribes, indeed, unrivalled authority to the written word; but, while she requires her ministers to “teach nothing except that which is agreeable to the Old and New Testament,” she also admonishes them to teach nothing but that “which the Catholic fathers or ancient Bishops have collected from that very doctrine<sup>2</sup>.” She claims for herself

<sup>1</sup> See Def. Apol. pt. vi. c. xix. xx. div. i.; where Jewel produces the various authors who retail these blasphemies.

<sup>2</sup> Canon of 1571.

the office of “witness and guardian of the sacred books ;” but she abjures all right to decree any thing against them, or to enforce the “belief of any thing besides them, for necessity of salvation<sup>1</sup>.” Her system, therefore, is neither more nor less than a perpetual testimony and protest against all innovations on the primitive and Catholic verity ; whether they have been hatched under the incubation of a Supreme and *Infallible* Authority : or whether they have been let loose, as it were *from the four winds of heaven*, by the rashness of individual judgment.

It is well known that the Romanists are, even at this day<sup>2</sup>, in the habits of producing the authority of Augustine, for the doctrine which places the Church *above* the word of God. It may, therefore, be worth while for us to see how Jewel disposes of this argument. The words triumphantly alleged for this purpose are these :—“*non crederem Evangelio, nisi me Ecclesiæ Catholicæ autoritas commoveret* ; I would not believe the Gospel itself, except the authority of the Catholic Church moved me.”—“These few poor words”—says Jewel—“have been tossed on your part, and wrung, and pressed to the uttermost, to yield out that was never in them!—But what if Augustine, as he saith, *I believe the Gospel because of the Church*,—have likewise said, *I believe the Church because of the Gospel* ?”—He then produces various passages, from the same Father, to show that he knew of no way of determining the Church but by reference to the Gospel. From these passages taken

<sup>1</sup> Art. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Doyle, for instance, in his Reply to Archbishop Magee’s charge.



together, it may be safely concluded that nothing was ever farther from his thoughts than to ascribe to the Church of Rome, or to the Catholic Church, an authority paramount above the written Word of God. His declaration, explained by the other extracts from his writings, amounts to nothing more than this ; that he was mainly impelled to embrace the Gospel, by the fact, that a vast company of faithful men, in various parts of the world, were found to agree, age after age, in the truth of the Christian revelation. “ St. Augustine’s mind,” continues Jewel, “ was not to commence an action between Christ and his Church, in comparison of their dignities, or for trial and keeping of their bounds ; or to teach us that the truth of God taketh authority of the Church : but only to show us that the Church is a witness to God’s truth. And certainly it hath great weight of persuasion to move the conscience of any man, to see so many kingdoms and countries to join together in the profession and obedience of one *Truth*. And I doubt not but, even this day, many thousands are sooner led to humble themselves unto the Gospel of Christ, for that they see the whole world, that is to say the whole Church of God, is contented so willingly and humbly to embrace the same. Thus the consent of the Church beareth witness to the Gospel ; without which witness, notwithstanding, the Gospel nevertheless were the Gospel still <sup>1</sup>.”

In order to comprehend more clearly the real scope of Jewel’s argument, let us substitute for the Gospel, any ancient book,—Cæsar’s Commentaries,

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. pt. v. c. x. div. 2.



for instance; and, for the Catholic Church, the Commonwealth of Letters. It might then be said, that we receive this as a genuine Classic, because the lettered world has always so received it. But we might still refer to Cæsar as an independent historical authority; and this, notwithstanding the objection, that we relied on Cæsar for the establishment of facts, while, after all, the authority of Cæsar himself depends on the testimony and opinion of learned men. In the same manner, we may surely say, without any circular and vicious reasoning,—we believe the Gospel,—that is, we receive the Sacred Books,—because the Church has always received them; meaning by the Church, the general body of believers in all ages: and yet, we may refer to the Gospel for particular facts and doctrines, as an authority independent of the Church, and superior to it.

The fallacy of the Popish reasoning evidently lies in this,—that it assumes, as the only ground of faith, the supreme unerring authority of the Church, as existing at any one given time. Whereas the Catholic Church, as contemplated by Augustine<sup>1</sup>, was no other than the whole successive assembly of Christians, both pastors and people, continued from the Apostolic days to the very hour in which he wrote. *Without* this authority, his faith in the Gospel would never have had

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of Jewel may be further illustrated by the following passage from the Confessions of Augustine:—"Cum essemus infirmi ad inveniendam liquidâ ratione veritatem, et, ob hoc, nobis opus esset auctoritate sanctarum Literarum; jam credere cœperam, nullo modo Te fuisse tributurum tam excellenti illi Scripturæ, *per omnes jam terras*, auctoritatem, nisi et per ipsam Tibi credi, et per ipsam Te quæri voluisses."—August. Confess. lib. vi. c. v.

a *beginning*. *With* this authority before him, he felt himself in a condition, confidently to reject the monstrous doctrines of the Manicheans, of whom he is writing. For, not only were those doctrines repudiated by the Church then existing, but they were destitute of all support from the doctrines antecedently and universally received by the Christian world<sup>1</sup>.

But, to return to the English Reformation: whatever might be its other merits or demerits, there was one eternal cause of outcry against it, which was not forgotten by Harding, and is not forgotten by the Romanists at the present day. Nay—with grief we add—the clamour has sometimes been ignorantly, or perversely, echoed by members of our own communion. Our defection from the Church of Rome, it was said, ended in the establishment of a *Parliament religion*. This subject is far too copious for discussion in a volume like the present; and, besides, our more immediate object is to put the public in possession of the views and sentiments of Bishop Jewel. Their attention is, accordingly, solicited to the following answer of the Bishop's to the iteration of this charge by his antagonist:—"Whereas ye call the doctrine of Christ, that now, by God's great mercy, and to your great grief, is universally and freely preached, a *Parliament religion*, and a *Parliament Gospel*—(for such sobriety becometh you well, and may stand you in stead, when learning faileth)—ye may remember, that Christ himself, at the beginning, was universally received and honoured through this realm by assent

<sup>1</sup> See Field on the Church, Append. p. 841. Ed. 1631.

of Parliament<sup>1</sup>; and further, that, without Parliament, your Pope himself was never received, no, not in the time of the late Queen Mary. Yea, and even then, his Holiness was clogged with Parliament conditions, that whatsoever had been determined in Parliament, were it never so contrary to his will and canons, should remain still inviolable, and stand in force. Otherwise, his Holiness had gone home again. Such, Mr. Harding, is the authority of a Parliament. Verily, if Parliament of realms be no Parliaments, then will your Pope be no Pope. Therefore, as you now call the truth of God which we profess, a *Parliament religion*, and a *Parliament Gospel*, even so, with like sobriety and gravity of speech, ye might have said, Our fathers in old times had a *Parliament Christ*; and your late fathers and brethren, in the time of Queen Mary, a *Parliament faith*, a *Parliament Mass*, and a *Parliament Pope*. Neither is it so strange a matter to see ecclesiastical causes debated in *Parliament*. Read the laws of King Ina, King Alfred, King Edward, King Athelstan, King Canute; and ye shall find that our godly forefathers, the kings and princes of this realm, never vouchsafed to intreat of matters of peace or war, or otherwise touching the common State, before all controversies of religion, and causes ecclesiastical, had been concluded. King Canute, in his Parliament holden at Winchester, upon Christmas Day, after sundry laws and orders made, touching the faith, and keeping of

<sup>1</sup> It is evident that Jewel here uses the word *Parliament* to signify the supreme Legislative Body, however it may be constituted.

holy days, public prayers, learning the Lord's Prayer, receiving of the Communion thrice in the year, the manner and form of baptism, and other like matters of religion, in the end thereof, saith thus, *Jam sequitur institutio legum secularium*; now followeth the order for *temporal* laws. Thus we see that the godly Catholic princes, in old times, thought it their duty, before all other affairs of the common weal, first to determine matters of religion; and that, even by the Parliaments of this realm. In a Parliament holden by William the Conqueror, it is written thus: *Rex, quia summi Regis Vicarius est, ad hoc constituitur, ut regnum et populum Dei, et, super omnia, Sanctam Ecclesiam, regat et defendat, &c. &c.*; the King, forasmuch as he is the vicar of the Highest King, is, therefore, appointed to this purpose, that he should rule and defend the people of the Lord; and, above all things, that he should rule and defend the Holy Church. Hereby it appears, that kings and princes are specially, and of purpose, appointed by God, not only to defend, but also to rule and govern, the Holy Church. Howbeit, if any imperfection shall appear in the former *Parliaments*, we give God thanks for the same that is: and trust that, for His own name's sake, He will confirm that He hath begun. The hearts of princes, and determinations of *Parliaments*, are in his hand. If anything want, the arm of the Lord is not shortened; He is able to supply the same<sup>1</sup>."

In truth, of all the heresies that ever infested the earth, no heresy, perhaps, was ever more pernicious

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. pt. vi. c. ii. div. 1.

than the notion, that there ought to be an utter severance of the civil from the religious polity of a State; more especially, if the State should be called upon to present a Bill of Divorcement to the Church, with which it has for ages been wedded. In fact, it comprehends the essence of all heresies: for it places heresy and truth before the people as precisely on the same level. Nay, it virtually involves the one grand heresy of all,—namely, a national renunciation of the Supreme Power, by which kings reign, and princes decree judgment. The Papists—to do them justice—contemplated no abomination quite so ungodly as this. *Their* pretence for crying out against a *Parliament religion* was founded, ostensibly at least, upon the principle, that, in matters of religion, the state is subordinate and subsidiary to the spiritual power: so that kings are to be, not so much the nursing fathers of the Church, as her obedient children, and submissive ministers. This *theory*, indeed, is one among the numberless other innovations, gradually forced upon Western Christendom by the usurping spirit of the Papacy: and it is, doubtless, full of danger, on account of its manifest liability to abuse in the application. But nevertheless, *as a theory*, it is, by infinite degrees, less irreligious than that, which absolves the civil magistrate from all obligation to provide for the spiritual welfare of the people committed to his charge. For this is a desecration of the State, unknown to almost any religion which the world has ever seen. It virtually proclaims an utter disregard for the majesty of Him, without whom nothing among men is strong, or pure, or holy. It is, therefore, most afflicting to hear this

same clamour against a *Parliament religion*,—(which, in the mouth of a sincere and zealous Romanist, might be entitled to some respect)—now re-echoed among those who have long abjured the authority of Rome. The despotism of an Italian Bishop, and his Court, was, indeed, calamitous enough: but yet it is fearful to think upon the condition for which we have exchanged it, if all is to end in the banishment of man's immortal nature from the care and the remembrance of his rulers<sup>1</sup>.

The limits of the temporal authority, in matters pertaining to religion, are most amply and laboriously discussed by Jewel in another part of the *Defence*<sup>2</sup>. Nothing could be more vain than the attempt to put the reader in possession of the whole tenor of his argument, supported as it is by an overpowering array of authorities, not merely from the ancient Fathers and historians of the Christian Church, but also from a multitude of writers, of various ages, between the primitive times and the period of the Reformation. The following sentences will sufficiently illustrate the spirit of his doctrine:—

“ We confound not these offices, Mr. Harding,” —(namely, the offices of spiritual governors and temporal magistrates)—“ as ye best know. You and your Fathers have brought confusion of offices into the Church of God, in that ye have made the Pope heir apparent unto the empire; and have armed him with all manner of authority, spiritual and temporal; and have given him the right of both

<sup>1</sup> See Field on the Church, b. v. c. lii. liii.

<sup>2</sup> Def. Apol. pt. vi. c. ix. div. 1, 2 to c. xv. div. 3.



swords. For thus your own Pope Nicolas telleth you stoutly in his own behalf, *Christus Petro eternæ vitæ clavigero, terreni simul et celestis imperii jura commisit*,—‘Christ hath committed unto Peter, the key-bearer of everlasting life, the right as well of the earthly, as also of the heavenly empire.’ No doubt. For Christ, by his commission, made Peter king of this world, and dubbed him accordingly with sword and sceptre, and bade him sit under his cloth of estate. Thus, by your doctrine, priesthood, kingdom, Popedom, empire, are all conveyed wholly into one man’s hands: and so, by your handling, one man is priest, king, Pope, and emperor, all at once. This, perhaps, unto the wise, may seem to be some confusion of offices. . . . . Ye say, Christ shall always assist his Church, and shall evermore provide her of good governors. Thus,—be your negligence, and carelessness, and forgetfulness, never so great,—be your lives never so loose,—be you *dumb dogs*, not able to bark,—be you lanterns without light,—be you *salt without savour*,—yet ye evermore dream sweetly of Christ’s promise, and assure yourselves undoubtedly of his assistance; even as he that, sometime, said, *Pan curat oves, oviumque magistros*. Would God your Bishops would do their duty, and do it faithfully: the world should have less cause to complain. Notwithstanding, Christ is evermore mindful of his promise. For, when he seeth his Church defaced, and laid waste, *he raiseth up faithful magistrates, and godly princes, not to do the priest’s or bishop’s duties, but to force the priests and the bishops to do their duties*. But ye say, Christ hath placed in his Church some *Apostles*, some *Prophets*, some *Evangelists*, some *Pastors*, some *Teachers*;



Kings (ye say) and Princes be not there named. Hereof ye conclude, *ergo*, the Prince may not cause the abuses of his Church to be reformed ; nor oversee the Priests and Bishops, if they be negligent ; nor force them to do their duties. I marvel, Mr. Harding, where ye learned so much logic. How frame ye this argument? In what mood? In what figure? With what cement can ye make these silly loose pieces to cleave together? It pitieth me to see your case. For, by like form of argument, and with much more likelihood of reason, we may turn the same against yourself, and say thus ; Christ hath placed in his Church, *some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors, some Teachers*. The Pope and his Cardinals are not here named. Apostles they are not, for the Apostles were but twelve. Prophets they are not, for they prophesy nothing. Evangelists they are not, for they preach not. Pastors or feeders they are not, for they feed not. Doctors or teachers they are not, for they teach not. *Ergo*, by this authority of St. Paul, and by your own argument, the Pope and his Cardinals be utterly excluded, and may not meddle with the charge of the Church of God <sup>1</sup>."

As might be expected, a very large portion of this controversy turns upon the question of the Pontifical authority and infallibility. This is a subject which has been completely exhausted by our great Protestant Divines ; more especially by Barrow, in his immortal Treatise on the Supremacy of the Pope. Since his days, the tone of the Romish Polemics, relative to this matter, has been gradually lowering :

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. part vi. c. ix. div. 1, 2.

and, at this moment, their trumpet often renders but a feeble and uncertain sound. The principle may, indeed, still be cherished by them, in all its original strength and formidable latitude. But if it be, it is like bread eaten in secret. The hidden manna is seldom openly produced. It is now a sort of *esoteric* doctrine. It is laid up for some more favourable season, when it may be solemnly reinstated in its ancient honours. At present it has "fallen on evil days, and evil tongues." It is a pearl which must not be cast before the swine of this impure and stubborn generation, lest they should turn again, and rend their benefactors. The infallibility and sovereignty of the *Church* forms the position, in which the Romish Doctors of our day seem most disposed to entrench themselves. And this is a position which affords more obvious facilities to an accomplished and practical controversialist. But it was not so in the days of Jewel. The unerring and supreme authority of the Universal Bishop, was then openly upheld by the greater part of the faithful *Catholics*, as a fundamental principle of revealed religion. And it is, accordingly, contended for by Harding, with an appearance of such desperate fidelity, as Hildebrand himself might have looked upon with exultation and delight. It, therefore, was indispensable that the Apologist of the Church of England should direct all his powers and resources to the demolition of this portentous usurpation.

It would be unpardonable to deceive the reader by a pretence of exhibiting to him the substance of this momentous debate, in all its length and breadth. No power of condensation can bring it within the

compass of our pages. We must content ourselves with one or two of its more prominent features. In the first, place, then, it is quite evident that Jewel, like most other Protestants of his own day, considered the prophecy of *Antichrist's* appearance, as verified in the assumed omnipotence of the Papacy. It is true, that he, here, rather affects to shrink from saying so, *in his own person*. But he does that, which inflicts far more embarrassment and damage on his antagonist,—he produces, among others, a formidable host of Romish authorities, in support of the opinion. For instance,—“I will not say that the Pope is Antichrist. God shall reveal him in his time; and he shall be known. John saith, *this is the wisdom: whoso hath understanding, let him reckon the number of the Beast*<sup>1</sup>. Upon which words Irenæus, well nigh 1500 years ago, saith thus:—‘The name of Antichrist, expressed by the number, shall be LATINVS.’ And he added further, *Hoc valdè verisimile est. Quoniam verissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum. St. Gregory* saith, ‘He is *Antichrist* that shall claim to be called the Universal Bishop; and shall have a guard of priests to attend upon him. Again, Irenæus saith, *Antichristus, cum sit Servus, tamen adorari vult ut Deus*: Antichrist, notwithstanding he be but a slave, yet he will be worshipped as if he were God. Ioachmius Abbas saith, *Antichristus jampridem natus est Romæ, et altius attolletur in sede Apostolicâ*: Antichrist is long sithence born in Rome, and yet shall be higher advanced in the Apostolic See. Thus is he described that shall sit in the place

<sup>1</sup> Revel. xiii. 18.

of Christ, and shall maintain possession against Christ. But Christ shall come with his holy angels, and shall destroy him with the breath of his mouth ; which is the Holy Word of the Living God<sup>1</sup>."

Again :—in his Apology, the Bishop had said that the tyranny of Rome had often been complained of by her own children. " For example," he adds, " Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patavinus, Francis Petrarch, Hierome Savonarola, Abbot Joachim, Baptist of Mantua, and, before all these, Bernard the Abbot, have many a time, and much, complained of it ; giving the world sometime to understand, that the Bishop of Rome himself (by your leave) is very *Antichrist*. Whether they speak it *truly* or falsely, let that go. Sure I am, they spake it *plainly*. Neither can any man allege that those authors were Luther's or Zuinglius's scholars. For they lived, not only certain years, but also certain ages, ere ever Luther's or Zuinglius's names were heard of." At all this, Harding is furious. And, in his fury, compares the *Defender* to a *mad dog* ! But the *madness* of Jewel was of a very *methodical* nature ; as may be seen by the playful temperateness of his reply : " Your comparison of mad dogs, Mr. Harding, becometh well your courteous eloquence. Whoso shall mark, how vainly you snap at whatsoever ye can imagine in your way,—now at our *Logic*—now at our *Rhetoric*—now at our *Greek*—now at our *Latin*—now at our *lameness*—now at our *lean cheeks*—now at our *thin beards*—now at our *Superintendentships*—now at our *Masterships*,—(for this is the sobriety

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. part iv. c. ix. div. 3.

and gravity of your speech) — and further, how greedily and eagerly ye fasten your teeth, and feed yourself with wind, and are still snapping, and catch nothing,—although, in regard of manhood, he spare to call you a *mad dog*, yet he may well think you to be scarcely a *sober man*!” He afterwards continues thus: “I will not here take upon me to describe either the person or the dwelling of *Antichrist*. Whoso hath eyes to see, let him see. These circumstances agree not unto many. St. Paul saith, *Antichrist worketh the mystery, or secret practice, of iniquity*. Whereupon the Glosse saith, *Mystica est impietas Antichristi; id est, Pietatis nomine palliata*. The wickedness of Antichrist is mystical; that is to say (it is not plain, and open, and easy to be espied of every body, but) cloked under the name of godliness. And your Glosse upon St. Paul unto Timothy saith thus, ‘*Habentes speciem pietatis, id est, Christianæ Religionis* ;’ Having a show of godliness, that is, a show of the religion of Christ. And, forasmuch as Mr. Harding thinketh we misallege these writers, and violently force them to our side, whether they will or no,—St. Barnard saith thus, ‘*Bestia illa de Apocalypsi, cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, et bellum gerere cum Sanctis, Petri Cathedram occupat, tanquam Leo paratus ad prædam* : The beast that is spoken of in the Book of Revelations, unto which beast is given a mouth to speak blasphemies, and to keep war against the Saints of God, is now gotten into Peter’s chair, as a Lion prepared to his prey.’ Behold, Mr. Harding, St. Bernard telleth you, that Antichrist is possessed in Peter’s chair! Howbeit, ye may soon find a salve for this sore. For ye will

say, Bernard wrote these words against Petrus Lima, an intruder and usurper of the See of Rome, and not against Innocentius III., that was Pope indeed. This is true, Mr. Harding, and not denied, nor any way prejudicial to our purpose. For hereby ye may see, by Bernard's judgment, it is not impossible, but, either by election or by intrusion, by one way or by other, Antichrist *may* sit in Peter's chair. But if you, Mr. Harding, or any of your friends, shall hope to start out at this poor hole, what will you say unto Arnulphus, that saith, the very Pope himself, notwithstanding any his canonical election, if he want charity, is Antichrist, sitting in the Temple of God? What will you say to Bernard himself, that calleth the Popes *traitors, wolves, Pilates, Devils, and the Darkness of the World?* Tell your friends, Mr. Harding, that Bernard speaketh not these words of intruders. This shift will not serve. He speaketh them of very Popes indeed; of Christ's vicars, of Peter's successors, and of the Heads of the Church." After producing further authorities of the same tenor, he adds, "I know these words will seem odious unto many. Therefore I will stay, and spare the rest. The Pope himself, for that he saw to whose person and credit these things belonged, therefore, in his late Council of Laterane, gave strait commandment to all preachers, that no man should dare once to speak of the coming of Antichrist. Indeed, many places of the Holy Scriptures, spoken of *Antichrist*, seemed in old times to be dark and doubtful. For, as then, it appeared not unto what state and government they might be applied. But now, by the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome, to them



that have eyes to see, they are as clear and as open as the sun<sup>1</sup>."

After this, no one will be surprised at hearing the Bishop observe, as he does in another place,—  
"Touching the Pope, wherein he may be known for Christ's vicar, it were hard to say: unless it be, that, wheresoever the Pope is present, there Christ is away<sup>2</sup>."

With regard to the Papal Infallibility, the doctrine of Harding was of the very loftiest flight. He contended that the vicar of Christ, whatever might be his vices or infirmities, can never fall into error, when he determines any thing by his high Bishoply authority, intending to bind Christian men to perform or believe the same: since, on all such occasions, he is governed and holpen by the Grace and favour of the Holy Ghost. Now, we Protestants are all familiar with the doctrine, that the unworthiness of the priest cannot vitiate the mere official ministrations of the priest. But every one must perceive, in an instant, the extravagance of the position, that the Spirit will be equally present with the mind of the priest, in the execution of his office as an expositor of God's word, whether it be habitually in communion with God, or whether it be tainted with the vilest savours of worldly passion. The utmost that can be hoped for, in such a case, is, that God, in compassion for the souls of men, will graciously intercept, or mitigate, the pernicious effect of erroneous doctrine, whenever it issues from the lips of an ignorant, faithless, or

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. pt. iv. c. xvi. div. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Def. Apol. pt. ii. c. ii. div. i.



profligate minister. The efficacy of the sacraments, for example, is not destroyed by the ungodliness of the person who officially administers them. But what Protestant would, therefore, dare to affirm that the influences of the Holy Ghost descend, impartially and indiscriminately, upon the minds of all, who, by their profession, are *teachers* of religious truth, without regard to the personal holiness, or unholiness, of the individuals themselves? And yet, this is the doctrine by which the advocates of the Pontifical Infallibility are accustomed to arm themselves against the indignation and disgust of mankind, when history points to the infamy of most of the successors of St. Peter! The Pope is a mere channel, by which the mind of the Spirit is conveyed to the children of men. The impurity of the conveyance cannot alter or pollute the waters of life. It is, therefore, a matter of profound indifference to the faithful, whether the Popes be blameless and holy as the Apostle whom they represent; or whether,—(as, for many centuries, the fact notoriously was)—they form a succession of the most worthless rulers that ever disgraced and afflicted the world. The following is Jewel's sarcastic, but quiet commentary, upon this precious theory:—"Here, we have found the Pope with two capacities. In one respect, he is a man. In another respect, he is more than a man. But whether, in that respect, he be angel or archangel, it is past in silence. One way he succeedeth Peter. Another way he succeedeth I know not whom. One way he may err. Another way, though he would never so fain, he cannot err. In his bed, at his table, on horseback, or elsewhere, we may well mistrust him;

for, in these places he may be deceived as well as others. But, in council, in consistory, and in place of judgment, he cannot err; for, in these places, he hath the Holy Ghost,—I trow, at his commandment! His power pastoral, his succession in authority, and infallibility of faith, his place, his chair, and his consecration, are sufficient, for ever, to preserve him from error. To the like purpose Sallust sometime said of Cicero, ‘*aliud stans, aliud sedens, de Republicâ sensit*; when he stands, he hath one mind touching the common state; when he sitteth down, he hath another.’ It is fit for the Pope to have shift of minds. Apollo’s nun, while she sate, mewed in her cave, was inspired, and prophesied, and gave oracles. But after that she came abroad, she was no wiser than a common woman. Thus your doctors say, as it is before reported,—‘*Veritas adhæret Cathedræ Papæ; Papa Sanctitatem recipit e Cathedrâ*: The Pope’s truth is fastened unto the Pope’s chair; The Pope, from his chair, receiveth his holiness<sup>1</sup>.’ From all which, it is manifest, that the adherents of the Pope may, at all times, comfort themselves with the reflection, that his case is no worse than that of Balaam; who, though he took the rewards of divination, and would have cursed the people of God, yet could speak nothing but the word which the Lord put in his mouth. The personal fate of Balaam, or the Pope, is no concern of theirs.

It would, of course, naturally occur to any one, not previously familiar with ecclesiastical history, to enquire, what were the grounds upon which the

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. pt. vi. c. xx. div. 3.

stupendous fabric of the Papal usurpation was built up? What were the *strong reasons*, and the Scriptural authorities, brought forth by the mightiest advocates and doctors of the Pontifical supremacy, in support of these gigantic pretensions? Now, this is a question which, in truth, we cannot well answer, without blushing for the abject credulity of the human race! In these days, a person as yet unacquainted with the annals of the Church, would find it extremely difficult to believe that the human understanding was ever so debased, as to endure the impiety with which God's Holy Word was, in former ages, forced into the service of sacerdotal ambition. One instance of this audacity we have already seen, in the application to the Papacy of the words spoken by the Lord to the prophet Jeremiah,—*Behold, I have, this day, set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to overthrow, and to build, and to plant*<sup>1</sup>. This is bad enough. But there are still more prodigious absurdities behind. Let us hear them stated by Bishop Jewel:—"Bernard, ye say, stoutly maintained the supremacy. I grant you. Neither did we ever allege him to prove the contrary. He defended, also, other great and gross errors, as living in a time of the deepest darkness. But the reasons he useth seem very weak; specially, to win so great a matter. For thus he saith:—*The rest of the Disciples came by boat; Ergo, the Pope hath jurisdiction of all the world!* Such other pretty reasons ye may find many. Peter Crab, that lately

<sup>1</sup> See ante, c. vii.

compiled the Books of Councils, reasoneth thus:—Peter paid the tribute-money for Christ and himself;—Christ said unto Peter, *Follow me*;—Again, he said, *Launch forth into the deep*;—again, *Peter, art thou asleep? Couldst thou not watch with me one hour?* And, again, *From henceforth thy name shall be Peter*;—And, *Peter drew forth his sword, and cut off Malchus's ear*;—*Ergo*, saith he, the Pope hath universal authority over the Church of God!—Here be reasons, even for a Pope. He must needs be hard-hearted that will not yield to them. As for that St. Bernard saith, the Pope is Abel—the Pope is Noah—the Pope is Abraham—the Pope is Melchisedec—the Pope is Aaron—the Pope is Moses—the Pope is Samuel—the Pope is Peter—the Pope is Christ,—I doubt not but your own conscience will answer, it is too much. Yet, of the two, that is a great deal more likely that others have said, as I have alleged before,—the Pope is Antichrist. For, both heaven and earth knoweth, he is not Christ<sup>1</sup>!—Again, in answer to an argument of Harding, he says—“Christ saith unto Peter, *I have prayed for thee, &c.* And *Paul went up to Hierusalem to visit Peter, &c.* *Ergo*, ye say, the Pope hath authority to confirm Councils. O, Mr. Harding, your logic of Lovaine is marvellous hasty. Ye force your conclusions to run in post. For, what maketh Christ's prayer for Peter, or Paul's journey from Arabia to Hierusalem, for the confirmation of your Councils? Verily, here is no mention of confirmation, nor of Councils, nor of Pope. You might as handsomely

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. pt. iv. c. xvii. div. i.

have concluded thus:—Peter took his boat, and went a-fishing; *ergo*, the Pope hath authority to confirm Councils. And whether ye will make this same to serve you for an argument, or not, it were hard to tell.” Having, then, proceeded further to expose the fatuity of this reasoning, he adds,—“ Much pleasant sport ye make us, Mr. Harding, with putting in the Pope’s answer. Be it—say you—that *Hick*, and *Hob*, and *Hans*, have accused the Pope; would you have him appear in Court, or, in that to be judged by *Jack* and *Gill*? The whole world, Mr. Harding, hath, of long time, charged the Pope with ambition, bribery, simony, superstition, idolatry, and open corruption of the ordinances and will of God. If he disdain the judgment of so many, and call the whole world *Hick* and *Hob*, let him not marvel if the whole world disdain *him*. If he may be both judge and party, and may make answer only before himself, I doubt not but he shall have a good favourable hearing<sup>1</sup>.”

With an equal mockery of all common sense, and reverential feeling, the following expressions are abused to the same purpose. *Put up thy sword into his place*<sup>2</sup>, says our Lord to Peter. From which it is manifest that Peter and his successors were to bear the sword. The remainder of the passage seems to have been forgotten,—*for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword*. Again,—when Christ was about to be betrayed, his Disciples said unto him, *Lord, behold, here are two swords*<sup>3</sup>: therefore Peter, who was foremost in zeal among the Dis-

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. pt. vi. c. iv. div. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. xxvi. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Luke xxii. 38.

ciples, was to wield both the spiritual and the temporal swords, either in his own person, or in that of his future representatives. But, perhaps, the strangest combination of impudence and ingenuity is to be found in the application of the words of Genesis:—*As God made two great lights: the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night*, even so did he make and ordain two great Powers, the Papal and the Royal. Now, since the luminary that rules the day must be greater than that which rules the night, so the power which presides over spiritual matters must be greater than that which governs temporal and carnal affairs. What, then, can be more obvious than the conclusion, that the Pope is the sun of the political firmament, while the emperor or the king must rest contented with the dignity and office of the moon<sup>1</sup>?

The text, which forms one principal stronghold of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, is the celebrated address of our Lord to the great Apostle,—*Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church*. The full discussion of this passage is wholly incompatible with the design of the present work. The gross misapplication of it has been sufficiently exposed by every Protestant writer who has assailed the usurpation of the Roman Bishop<sup>2</sup>. All that can be said for it is, that the abuse of Scripture, in this instance, is not quite so revolting for its impiety, as in the others which have been produced. Whether the ho-

<sup>1</sup> See Laud's Conf. p. 204, &c. Ed. 1689.

<sup>2</sup> See note (D) of the Appendix to the second edition of Bp. Marsh's Comparative View, &c.



nour and precedency, conferred by these words, belonged to Peter, by virtue of his peculiar energy of character, or by virtue of that illustrious confession of faith, which formed, of itself, a sort of foundation to the whole fabric of the Christian profession, it is not needful to inquire. Nothing, however, can well be more clear than this,—that the distinction was personal to himself: not so exclusively personal, indeed, as to set aside the services and impair the honours of the other Apostles; but, most assuredly, so far personal, that his successor in the See of Rome would be entitled to claim no share or interest in that distinction. How would it follow that the Bishop of Rome is now the spiritual governor of all Christendom; even if it could be proved that the founder of the whole primitive Church<sup>1</sup> once occupied that See?

The system of Popery being such as, here and elsewhere, it is described by Jewel, and such as it is

<sup>1</sup> It has been contended by some Protestant divines, that the words in question refer, not to Peter, but to Christ himself: for, that Christ, and not Peter, is the rock which supports the fabric of the Church. But to argue thus, is to bring figurative language to a test more rigorous than it ever was designed to bear. The Saviour is, himself, undoubtedly, the only foundation on which his own dispensation can rest. *Other foundation than this can no man lay.* And yet it may be true that the constancy and energy of one of his Apostles might be so potently *instrumental* in the first establishment of the Church, as justly to earn for him, (though in a less exalted sense), the title of founder of that Church; or, the still more emphatic designation of the Rock on which the Church was built. We should much distrust the soundness of that criticism which could raise a serious difficulty out of this free and varied application of the same metaphorical expressions.



known to be by every intelligent Protestant,—the grand question is, whether our separation from it was, or was not, a legitimate proceeding. And this is a question which, at this day, is of deep and solemn importance. For, to the present hour, the Romanists cease not to affirm that Protestant England is without a Church; that the Church of England, when she finally disjoined herself from all connection with the Roman Patriarchate, was guilty of deliberate schism; that she then, in fact, abandoned all communion with the *Catholic Church of Christ*; and thereby lost all part or lot in the promises and graces which are the inheritance of God's people. Her ministers are, therefore, intruders; her solemnities are mere mockeries of Christian worship; her sacraments are nullities; herself (to use the rhetoric of Harding), is a *Babylonical Tower*,—a *Congregation of Reprobates*,—a *Synagogue of Satan*; and her children are *bound hand and foot with the cords of the Devil's clew*, and thrust out from all hope of mercy and salvation.

Now, before all this could be admitted by any dispassionate and impartial judge, he would, in the first place, naturally inquire whether or not, it could be certainly made out, that every Christian society which has renounced its connection with the Church of Rome, is, thereby, necessarily cut off from all communion with the Catholic Church of Christ. And this is a question which has opened a vast labyrinth of controversy, on which it is quite impossible for us very deeply to enter. Thus much, however, may at least be said; that the affirmative of the proposition is so far from being self-evident, that they who main-

tain it, are bound to support their assertion by overpowering proof. This, as the Romanist contends, has been triumphantly accomplished. And this, again, the Protestant of the Church of England as confidently denies. He allows, indeed, that the Church of Rome is, truly and essentially, one great branch of the Catholic Church; but then he maintains that it is a diseased and unhealthy branch. He does not regard it as destitute of life; but he considers it as infected with manifold and dangerous corruptions. But, whether corrupt or healthy, he utterly rejects the right of the Church of Rome to identify herself with the Universal Church of Christ, to the exclusion of all other Churches which may have abandoned her communion, or, may have never joined it.

But here, it is alleged, that the Church of England was united for a long series of ages with the Church of Rome; and then, we are asked, by what right did the Church of England separate herself from that connection? Now, this is a question which is best answered by propounding another; namely, by what obligation was the Church of England bound to continue the connection? It never can be shown that this connection was imposed upon the realm of England, by the will of Christ, or by the laws of his Church<sup>1</sup>. The British Isles were never compre-

<sup>1</sup> " Let it not be said or thought, for an instant, that the abolition of Roman jurisdiction in England was schismatical; or that it rent asunder the *unity* which the Redeemer enjoined and established in his Church. Does unity consist in submission to the jurisdiction of the Roman See; without considering whether that jurisdiction is established by the Canons and by the Law of

hended within the limits of the Roman Patriarchate. There is no canon of any General Council, which placed this country under the jurisdiction of the Roman Bishop. Nay, there is no formal recognition of his authority, in the acts of any one of our own National Synods. Our association with the Church of Rome was purely of a voluntary nature. It commenced with the Mission of the Monk Augustine, the first Romish Archbishop of Canterbury. And if it be inquired,—to what are we to ascribe the long continuance of the union thus effected? We reply, that it is, partly to be ascribed to a grateful sense of the benefits derived from the assistance of the Church of Rome, in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons; partly to our own imperfect knowledge; partly to the overwhelming influence and power of the Romish See. But whatever might be the circumstances which concurred to perpetuate the con-

God? Does it infer the *unconditional* surrender of all the rights and privileges of God's Church to the interpretation and dictation of the Roman See? Is it a breach of unity to enforce the Decrees of General Synods, and the ancient indefeasible rights of the Catholic Church, against the uncanonical usurpation of that See? When it has been proved that the Roman Patriarch is the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that all Bishops are his Vicars, and have no divine right of their own; that he is above all Canons, above a General Synod, not subject to any tribunal on earth, infallible in all his decisions, then will the advocates of the Church of Rome have proved that the Church in these realms committed schism; and at the same moment, have convicted, along with her, the Fathers, the Councils, and the Catholic Church from the beginning, of error on all these points, and of perpetual opposition to all the greatest principles of ecclesiastical discipline." — Palmer, *Orig. Liturg.*, vol. ii. c. 12, p. 269.

nection, for so long a period, there was nothing in the case to make the union indissoluble<sup>1</sup>.

The causes of our separation are well known to all the world. They were, first, the intolerable tyranny of the Roman Bishop and his Court ; and, secondly, the erroneous doctrines and superstitious practices, with which the Church of Rome had disfigured the simplicity of our common Christianity. The despotism of Rome had been deeply felt, and bitterly resented for ages. The corruptions of her theology had been dragged forth into the light, by the strength and courage of many a daring spirit, previously to the time of our Reformation ; till, at last, their deformity could no longer be endured. In this vindication, the Romanist, of course, refuses to acquiesce. He demands of us to show the right, by which any individual Christian, or any one community of Christians, can take upon themselves the office of declaring what doctrines or practices are sound, and what are unsound. Who, he asks, is to be the judge between the Church of Rome, and any other body of men who may venture to pronounce her condemnation ? To this we can only answer, in the first place, that the accumulation of errors and abuses in the Romish Church, was universally notorious ; that the general outcry for her Reformation, both in head and members, had been repeatedly and loudly echoed, even in the Vatican ; and that, therefore, she stood before the world, essentially self-condemned. In the second place, we contend that, the whole Western Church had been driven into acknowledged corrup-

<sup>1</sup> See Palmer's Orig. Liturgy, vol. ii. c. 12.

tions, by the overbearing predominance of Rome, and had gradually lost either the power or the will to effect her own reform; and that, consequently, it became lawful for *particular* Churches, who might have the power and the will, to take the work of Reformation in their own hands. And, when the question is reiterated, who is to judge between the dominant Church, and any other Church? we reply, that we know not of any infallible and perpetual tribunal, invested with authority to decide all controversies; that even a general Council is not absolutely safe from error<sup>1</sup>; and that, if it were, it would be scarcely possible to collect an assembly which should have, in perfection, all the requisites, which are needful for the free exercise of its infallible authority; and that, therefore, our only ultimate appeal must be, to the written word of God. But here, again, it may be asked,—by what process is the meaning of the written word to be ascertained and established, in cases, where men have differed widely in their exposition of the same? Where is a judge to be found who shall decide between conflicting interpretations? The Divine Founder, and Prophet, and Doctor of the Church, is no longer visibly present among us. We cannot appeal to Him in person, for a definitive sentence on the matter in debate. The Romanist, indeed, will repeat for ever, that we have his representative on earth; and that we are justly punished, by our dissensions, for having deserted the Living Oracle. But, unfortunately for his remonstrances, the infallibility and power of that great Interpreter, are, themselves, among the controverted

<sup>1</sup> See Laud's Conf. p. 228, &c. Ed. 1639.

matters. So that, in the absence of any accessible and acknowledged tribunal, for the determination of our disputes, what must we do, but seek for some principle or other, which may be to us in the place of an umpire? And what arbitration can we hope to find, so unexceptionable, as the unanimous voice of Apostolic and Primitive Antiquity? Where shall we look for testimony so trustworthy and venerable, as that of the ancient Synods, and the Catholic Doctors and expounders, of the Church? And who shall tell us, if *they* cannot tell us, what was the *unbroken* tradition of doctrine and interpretation, from the days of the Evangelists, down to the establishment of Christianity throughout the greater portion of the civilized world? Now this, as we have already seen, is precisely the umpirage to which the Church of England makes her appeal. She does *not* appeal to *private judgment*, unlicensed and uncontrolled. She lays open the Bible, indeed, to all her people. She bids them resort to Scripture, for the knowledge of all saving truth; but to Scripture, not as interpreted merely by their own fancy, but by the consenting voice of the most ancient and unimpeachable authorities: and by so doing, she identifies herself with the uncorrupt and primitive Church. If any should reject this arbitrament as inconclusive, she has nothing more to offer. They who refuse it, must do so at their own peril.

The lawfulness of departing from Rome, is copiously discussed by Jewel. He begins by producing a cloud of witnesses, *from among the Romish doctors themselves*, who testify, in language of bitter grief



and indignation, against the miserable degeneracy of the Church of Rome; and he sums up their testimony thus: "By these few, we may conceive the whole state of that Church, which only Church above all others, Mr. Harding telleth us, is so founded in the truth, that it never can have power to be deceived. We have departed therefore, *from shepherds that spoiled the flock; from Bishops that destroyed the Church,—that oppressed the Spirit of God,—that defied the voice of the Prophets,—that persecuted Christ in his members;—that both perished themselves and killed others,—that wallowed in monsters of filthiness,—that lived as heathens under the name of Christ,—that were void of charity, void of faith, void of discipline, void of religion,—that were Christians only in titles and ceremonies—from whom Christ had withdrann his blessing.* To be short, we have departed from *the Temple of heresies, and from the School of Error*<sup>1</sup>."

These, in truth, are very bitter words. But they are, *in effect*, the words of the children of the Romish Church herself. From the lips of a Protestant, such a description might, possibly, sound like the raving of fanaticism. What, then, must have been the reality, when such is the portraiture exhibited by persons who painted from the very life, but who, yet, had never withdrawn themselves from all communion with the foul original! If Pontifical doctors could speak thus of the very system of which they themselves formed a part, no man can wonder that Protestants

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. pt. v. c. xii. div. 2.



should feel but little disturbance, on hearing themselves charged by the Church of Rome, with the sin of schism, for deserting her.

The sin of schism, indeed, is retorted on the Church of Rome herself by Bishop Jewel. “Your own Clemens,”—he says—“whom ye commonly call the apostle’s fellow, saith thus,—*Schisma efficit, non qui ab impiis secessionem facit, sed qui a piis*; He maketh no schism or division in the Church, that departeth from the wicked, but he that departeth from the godly.” And, again, in the Apology itself, he says, “If we be schismatics because we have left *them*—(namely the Church of Rome)—by what name shall they be called themselves, which have forsaken the Greeks, from whom they first received the faith,—forsaken the primitive Church,—forsaken Christ himself, and the apostles,—even as if children should forsake their parents<sup>1</sup>.” At all these imputations, Harding is again outrageous. They are nothing, he protests, but “words of course, the *common blast of your railing spirit*.” Of this eruption, Jewel, as usual, takes no serious notice; but calmly replies by the production of manifold authorities. And then he adds—“These things, Mr. Harding, being true, we marvel what should move you to deny that ye first received the faith from the Church of Græcia. Touching the matter itself, it is written thus in your own councils:—*Si Græci, per quandam scissuram, dividuntur a Latinis, ita Latini a Græcis. Et ideo videtur, quod, si Græci debent dici Schismatici, propter hujusmodi divisionem, eâdem ratione et Latini. Præ-*

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. pt. v. c. xiv. div. 3.

*tereà, Græci magis servant antiquas consuetudines Apostolorum, et Discipulorum Christi* <sup>1</sup>." From which it would appear, that even if the guilt of schism is to be divided between the Greek and Latin Churches, the greater portion of the delinquency must fall to the share of the latter.

In a subsequent passage, Jewel comes home more closely to the matter:—"To conclude, we have forsaken the Church *as it is now, not as it was in old times past*; as Daniel went out of the Lions' den, and the three children out of the furnace. And, to say the truth, we have been cast out by these men, (being cursed of them, as they used to say, with Book, Bell, and Candle), rather than have gone away from them of ourselves."—This produces another explosion from his antagonist; who thus delivers himself of his indignation: "The Church that now is, and the Church that was in old time, is one Church; just as a man in his old age is the same man he was in his youth. From which Church, *no faults or imperfections can excuse you for your departing*. Neither have ye gone from it as Daniel was delivered from the Lions' den, nor as the three children out of the furnace: but, have departed wilfully from the house of God,—where, touching the faith, all be of one accord,—unto the synagogue of Antichrist; unto a Babylon of sects, where is no order but confusion;—unto the kingdom of Satan. And there ye remain, as it were in a den of lions; where that *roaring lion*, with his fellows, *lieth in wait, seeking whom he may devour*. Ye have stepped from

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. pt. v. c. xiv. div. 3.

the place of spiritual *refrigery*, into the *frying-pan* of schisms and heresies. And from thence (after that ye have *boiled and fried* in malice and rancour against the Church), except ye repent, ye are likely to leap into *the furnace of hell*, that for ever shall torment you, and never consume you. Complain not of your casting out of the Church. To be excommunicate ye have deserved. And that kind of punishment is, by a merciful discipline extended upon you; partly for your amendment, partly to conserve the rest of the body whole, from your pestiferous contagion." To this "*over-cold, sweet, and mild*" rhetoric, the following is Jewel's answer:—"Now you be in to keep hot schools, Mr. Harding! Your *frying-pans* and *furnaces*, with your kitchen implements of *frying* and *boiling*, are hot and dangerous to deal withal. The causes of our departure from you, are answered before. The Church, ye say, that now is, and the Church that was in old times, is one Church. Even so, as I showed you before, the moon being full, and the same moon eclipsed, is one moon. Even so, *a man well-advised, and the same man stark mad, is one man*. Even so, the house of God, and a cave of thieves, is one house.—Ye have excommunicate us, and put us from you. So did certain of your predecessors and fathers excommunicate Christ and his apostles. So did *Diotrephes*, that first claimed your Papal primacy, excommunicate the faithful of Christ, that were the first planters of the Gospel. So it is written in the Apocalypse, that *Antichrist* shall excommunicate all them that will not adore the image of the Beast."

In this passage it is clear that Jewel again is

speaking in the true spirit of our Church. He does not, as some Protestants do, take upon him to pronounce that the candle of the Church of Rome is finally extinct, or that it is lighted up *wholly* with a strange fire, which must lure all who look upon it to certain and inevitable perdition. He rather regards her as a luminary which is *eclipsed* by the shadows of a portentous superstition; but which nevertheless may chance, at some time, to emerge from the darkness, and to reflect, with full orb, the brightness of the Sun of Righteousness. He does not presume to affirm that she has lost her life, because she seems to have well nigh lost her judgment and her understanding. She may, indeed, be *stark mad* with the cup of her own enchantments; and, in her frenzy, have “played such fantastic tricks before high heaven,” as men and angels have sorrowed to look upon. But yet, possibly, the day may come, when she may cease to taste the *drink of that deadly wine*; and then, her health and her mind may return unto her; and she may take her place again among them that render unto God a *reasonable service*. *Blindness hath happened unto her in part*; so that all who are anxious to walk in the way that leadeth unto life, can no longer safely trust themselves to her guidance. But who can tell that she may not hereafter hear a gracious voice, saying unto her, *I will that thou receive again thy perfect sight*. In the mean time, however, we must not forbear to tell her, when she hurls at us the charge of a schismatical separation, that she herself is the great mistress of innovations; that she herself has long departed from the purity of the primitive and Catholic doctrine;

that she has, moreover, compassed sea and land to establish herself as a Queen over the heritage of God; and that, consequently, the guilt of schism must rest upon her own head; and not upon them who have been driven from her communion, by her tyranny over the souls and bodies of the faithful.

One word more, before we quit this subject, respecting the ancient and original independence of our National Church. It has been stated above, that her connection with the See of Rome began with the mission of Augustine to this country, for the conversion of the Saxons, at the close of the sixth century. And from this period the Romanists are apt to date the permanent and firm establishment of Christianity in this realm; and to reason as if there never had been, before that time, a church in Britain, which was worthy of the name. This question has been triumphantly discussed by many of our own Divines. It must suffice for us to produce the following brief, but perspicuous, statement of the matter by Bishop Jewel. In his Reply to Harding on the Challenge, he writes thus:—"Forasmuch as Mr. Harding saith, 'by mean of the arrival of the Englishmen, (the Anglo-Saxons,) who then were infidels, the faith was utterly banished out of this realm, and remained only in a few Britons, and Augustine, at his coming, restored the same again, and is therefore called of some the Englishmen's Apostle.' I think it necessary, therefore, shortly to touch somewhat of the state of the Church within this land, both before the entry of the English nation, and also in the first time of our being here. Ghildas saith that Joseph of Arimathea, that took down Christ from the cross, being sent

hither by Philip the Apostle, out of France, began to preach the Gospel in this realm in the time of Tiberius, the Emperor. Nicephorus saith, that Simon Zelotes, about the same time, came into this island, and did the like. Theodoretus saith, that St. Paul, immediately after his first delivery in Rome, under the Emperor Nero, preached the Gospel in this island, and in other countries of the West. Tertulian saith, the island of Britain was subject unto Christ in his time. And Origen witnesseth the like of the same island, in his time : at which time, Lucius, the king of this realm, was baptized, and received the Gospel, and sent to Rome, to Eleutherius, the Bishop there, for his advice touching the ordering of his church and realm. Helena, being an Englishwoman, (a native of Britain), wife unto Constantius, the Emperor, and mother unto Constantinus, is notably praised for her religion, by Saint Ambrose, by Eusebius, by Sozomenus, and others. Chrysostom saith, that in his time, the island of Britain received the power of the Gospel." But then, whoever may have been the original planters of the Gospel in this country, we are told that, at the end of the sixth century, the fruit of their labours had almost, or altogether, perished from the face of the land ; so that the work, at that period, was to be begun afresh ; and that we are solely indebted for the commencement of it to the good offices of the Roman Patriarch. " Let us consider, therefore," says Jewel, " in what state this realm stood, touching religion, at the coming of Augustine, at which time, Mr. Harding surmiseth, the whole faith was *utterly decayed*. First, Beda saith, there were,



among the Britons, *seven Bishops and one Archbishop*, and one and twenty hundred monks, about Bangor; and, as he avoucheth, *plures viri doctissimi*, many more great learned men, that utterly refused to receive this Augustine, with his new religion. As touching the *English* nation, it appeareth by Beda, that the Queen herself was christened, and had St. Martin's Church appointed her, freely to pray in with her company. Whereof it may be thought, the King was no great enemy unto the faith; and, therefore, the like also may well be thought of a great number of the people<sup>1</sup>." This statement alone is sufficient to show that Christianity was not extinct in this realm, at the period of Augustine's mission. A branch of the Catholic Church, beyond all dispute, existed here, at the time of his appearance<sup>2</sup>; though, undoubtedly, in a condition of much feebleness and decay. Neither is it true, that we owe the more general diffusion of Christianity throughout the kingdom, to his labours alone; for nothing can be more certain than the fact, that "by far the greater portion of the Anglo-Saxons were converted by missionaries and Bishops from Ireland<sup>3</sup>." There can, therefore, be no pretence for the assertion, that we are to look only to Augustine, as the founder of our National Church. "We stand on the ground of prescriptive and immemorial possession, from those more remote ages, when the Bishops and priests that were our predecessors, attended the Councils of Arles and

<sup>1</sup> Reply on the Challenge, art. iii. div. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. c. ii. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Palmer, Orig. Liturg. vol. ii. c. xii. p. 250. 268.



Nice ; when Tertullian and Origen bore witness that the fame of our Christianity had extended to Africa and the East<sup>1</sup>.”

The design of this work forbids a more extended investigation of the principles, upon which alone an intelligent minister or member of the Church of England can hope to repel the charges advanced against her by her Romish adversaries. We must, therefore, conclude with observing, that it is useless, and worse than useless, for her to appeal merely to the desultory resistance with which Pontifical despotism was encountered, at any period which preceded our own Reformation. If we should be asked, where was *Lutheranism* before the days of Luther ? there is no good reason why we should be careful to answer in this matter : or, we might safely be content to say, that, in truth, we do not very well know where it was. Luther was, undoubtedly, a mighty instrument in the hand of Providence, for exposing the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and for denouncing the arrogance and the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, and for stirring up the Western Churches to the great work of their own purification and deliverance. And, for these services, the name of Luther is, doubtless, worthy to be had in everlasting and honourable remembrance. But, as members of a reformed branch of the Catholic Church, we are no more bound to say where the whole system of Lutheran theology and discipline was lurking, previously to the appearance of Luther, than we are bound to give a similar account of the system of Calvin. And

<sup>1</sup> Palmer, Orig. Liturg. vol. ii. c. xii. p. 251.

if, again, we should be asked,—where was the Church of England previously to the time of Henry VIII. or of Queen Elizabeth? we might reply, that the Church of England was, then, just where it is now; but that, unhappily, it had been, for many ages before that period, in a state of slavery and defilement. Its restoration we owe to the labours of our own Reformers; who seized the cup from the hand of the sorceress, and by a powerful, but legitimate, alchemy, precipitated to the bottom all the pernicious drugs; and then presented the waters of life, in their genuine purity to a thirsty people. And this work of theirs, be it always remembered, would have been equally lawful, and equally worthy of all acceptance, if neither Vaudois, nor Albigenses, nor Paulicians, nor various other sects, who have been honoured with the title of progenitors of Protestantism, had never presumed to meddle with the mixture. Even if not a single public testimony had ever been lifted up, by any one society or party, from the days of Constantine to the days of Henry VIII., against the gradual encroachments of the Western Patriarch, or the creeping corruptions of the Romish theology,—the Church of England would, most unquestionably, have had the right to assert, at any time, her original independence; and to bring back her doctrines and her usages to the standard of primitive practice, and of Scriptural truth.

*Transubstantiation*

Next in importance to the towering pretensions of the Church and Bishop of Rome, are the grand mysteries of Transubstantiation and the Mass, with their endless train of attendant superstitions. This subject, as might be expected, absorbs a very large proportion

of the controversial labours of Bishop Jewel. In fact, no less than two-and-twenty, out of the seven-and-twenty Articles of his celebrated Challenge, relate, more or less closely, to the Sacramental doctrine: and the same subject enters very largely into the debate occasioned by his Apology for the Church of England. It would be utterly impossible, within our limits, to exhibit the details of this voluminous dispute. It must content us to point out the main positions contended for by Jewel, with reference to the doctrine of the corporeal presence; and to select a few specimens of his manner of maintaining them. In the first place, then, he shows, irresistibly, that any one who insists on a literal and rigorous interpretation of the Fathers, when they are speaking either of the Sacrament, or of various other matters, will soon find himself involved in a labyrinth of heresy, absurdity, and contradiction. Secondly, that if we appeal to the Fathers, in support of the doctrine of the bodily and local presence in the *Eucharist*, we must, further be compelled to believe, on their authority, that Christ is likewise corporeally present in the sacrament of *baptism*; and, not only in baptism, but in other religious solemnities and rites. And, thirdly, that all perplexity would be at an end, if one thing were constantly kept in mind; namely, that, both in the language of Scripture, and in the theological idiom of the primitive times, the same words are perpetually used to denote, as well the things signified, as the signs and emblems by which they are represented. The following passages will furnish some illustration of these maxims.

In discussing the sixth Article of the Challenge,

Harding produces Chrysostom, exclaiming, "O miracle, O the goodness of God, who sitteth above with the Father, and at that very instant of time, is *handled with the hands of all*, and giveth himself to those who will receive and embrace him. And this is done by no crafty slightness, but openly in the sight of all that stand about. How sayest thou? Seem these things no better to thee, than to be contemned and despised?" "By which things," Harding adds, "we may see that Christ's being in heaven maketh no proof, that he is not on earth; since both these verities may well stand together." Here, undoubtedly, is an authority for the bodily presence, if the words of the writer are to be literally understood. The absurdity of so understanding them is thus demonstrated by Jewel: "This argument would serve well if there were none other miracle, but carnal presence. But, if Mr. Harding had conferred with the old Catholic Fathers, he should have found *miracles* in the Sacrament of Baptism, no less than in this sacrament of Christ's body. In this sort, writeth Chrysostome touching the same:—*We are never able to yield a reason of the spiritual regeneration, and miraculous birth, that we have by Baptism. The very Angels that were present, are not able to utter the manner of that unspeakable work. They were present only and saw. But they wrought nothing: but only the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* Here we see a *miracle* in Baptism: and such a miracle, as the Angels of God are not able to utter it. Yet, will not Mr. Harding say, that Christ's body is therefore really present in the water of Baptism. So weakly these proofs hang together."

“ But Chrysostome’s words are very vehement ; that Christ is present at the holy ministration ; that every man toucheth him with his fingers, and seeth him with his eyes ; and that clearly and openly, without guile or error. I grant that these words be very vehement, and much exceed the common sense. But here would I learn of Mr. Harding, whether he will take those words, plainly and simply as they lie ; or else will rather qualify them with a courteous and gentle interpretation. If he follow the rigour of the words, then appeareth there a manifest *contradiction* ; and Chrysostome in uttering one sentence, is found clean contrary to himself. For, first, he saith, *Christ is there invisibly, in such sort as no man can see him*. And yet, immediately after, with one breath, he saith, *every man seeth him with his eyes, plainly, and without guile or error*. Again, by the rigour of the same words, we must needs grant that the people, both verily and indeed, seeth Christ’s very body, and handleth and toucheth it with his fingers : which is not only a manifest untruth, but also, a greater *heresy* than ever was defended by Berengarius ; as it is confessed by the doctors on Mr. Harding’s own side. Indeed, the marvellous effects that God worketh in the faithful, in that dreadful time of the holy communion,—wherein the whole mystery of our redemption, that we have in the blood of Christ, is expressed,—Chrysostome calleth a *miracle*. And, therefore, the more to stir the people’s minds to the consideration of the same, he inflameth his speech with rhetorical amplification and heat of words. He saith,—*Christ is crucified before our eyes. His blood gusheth out of his side,*

and streameth, and floweth over his holy table : and the purple is therewith made red and bloody. This advancing and ravishing the mind, he calleth a *miracle*. But, of any corporal and fleshy presence, he saith nothing. By such figurative and fiery speech, he meant not that we should understand him precisely according to the sound of his words ; but sought to lift up and enkindle his readers' minds <sup>1</sup>."

Again,—In order to justify the practice of speaking of the sacrament as our *Lord and God*, Harding brings forward the words of Cyprian, de Cenâ Domini : "*Sicut in personâ Christi, humanitas videbatur, et latebat divinitas, ita Sacramento visibili, ineffabiliter Divina se infudit Essentia* ; as, in the person of Christ the manhood is seen, and the Godhead was hidden, so the Divine Essence (or substance of God), hath infused itself into the visible sacrament, unspeakably." "Here," exclaims Jewel, "is another proper kind of proof ; even like the rest. O holy Cyprian, if thy manner of speaking were not known, the simple might easily be deceived. I grant, here is a great amplification, and majesty of words, such as the holy Fathers have much delighted to use in their sermons to the people ; but specially in treating of the sacraments. St. Ambrose saith, *the priest maketh h's prayer, to sanctify the font, and that the Holy Trinity may be in it*. Tertullian saith, *the Holy Ghost cometh down from heaven, and resteth upon the water of Baptism, and sanctifieth it of himself*. Even thus St. Cyprian saith, the Divine Substance *infuseth itself unspeakably into the visible*

<sup>1</sup> Reply on the Challenge. Art. vi. div. 4.



*sacrament*,—none otherwise than as the Holy Ghost, or the whole Blessed Trinity, infuseth itself into the water of Baptism. Paulinus seemeth to write much agreeably to these words of St. Cyprian :—

Sanctus in hunc cœlo descendit Spiritus amnem ;  
Cœlestique sacras fonte maritat aquas,  
Concipit unda Deum :

*The Holy Ghost into this water cometh down from heaven ; and joineth the heavenly waters, both in one. Then the font receiveth God.* What can be spoken with greater majesty ? If Mr. Harding, out of these words of St. Cyprian, be able, by this simple guess, to prove that the sacramental bread was called *Lord* and *God*, then, by the like guess, and by the like words of Tertullian, Ambrose, and Paulinus, he may also prove, that the water of Baptism was likewise called *Lord* and *God*. For the form and manner of speech is all one. But these, and other like phrases be usual with the ancient learned Fathers. St. Augustine writeth thus : *The holiness of Baptism cannot be defiled. The heavenly power is assistant unto the Sacrament.* And again,—*God is present with his Word and Sacraments.* Likewise St. Cyprian, touching the hallowing of the oil, writeth thus : *In Sacraments, the heavenly power worketh mightily. The truth is present with the signs, and the Holy Ghost is present with the Sacrament.* All these words of the holy Fathers notwithstanding,—I think, Mr. Harding will not call the water of Baptism, nor the oil hallowed, *Lord* and *God*<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Reply on the Challenge, Art. xxi. div. 4.



In truth, the absurdities into which an expositor must be betrayed, by this adherence to the very letter of impassioned speech or writing, are absolutely fathomless. In vindicating the adoration of the Sacramental elements, Harding relies on the words of "Dionysius, St. Paul's scholar,—*O Divine and Holy Mystery, which vouchsafest to open the covering of signs laid over thee, utter thy light to us openly, &c. &c.* :—a passage, the authority of which, if once admitted on behalf of the sacred elements, would be quite sufficient (as Jewel shows at length) to invest a wooden cross, or a vessel of holy oil, or even the girdle of our lady, with a claim to godly honour." For all these objects have often been addressed by ecclesiastical writers, in language which savours quite as strongly of adoration <sup>1</sup>.

In support of transubstantiation, the following words of Augustine are produced by Harding :—The sacrifice of the Church is made of two things ;—of the visible kind, or nature, of the elements, (*visibili elementorum specie*) ; and of the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. "Hereof," replies Jewel,—“Mr. Harding gathereth that the body of Christ lieth hidden under the *accidents*. Of this word, *specie*, he concludeth that the bread is gone, and nothing, but the accidents, remaineth. And of this word, *invisible*, he gathereth that Christ's body is there enclosed. But what would he have said, if he had seen these words of St. Hierome,—*Philip came, and showed him Jesus, that lay hidden in the letter?* Or, those words in the second council of

<sup>1</sup> Reply on the Challenge, Art. viii. div. 18.

Nice, *Christ himself dwelleth in dead men's bones?* Or those of Angelomus, *God the Father had his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, hidden in the letter of the law, the Jews not knowing it?* Would he, of these words, conclude that Christ is really hidden, either in dead men's bones, or in the prophet Esai, or in the letter of the law?—Now let us examine the ground of Mr. Harding's guesses. St. Augustine nameth *visibilem speciem*, the visible *kind* of the elements; *Ergo*, saith Mr. Harding, he meaneth only the accidents or outward forms of bread and wine, and not the substance. The weakness of this conclusion proceedeth of the misunderstanding of the terms. For Augustine, in this place, useth not this word, *species*, for the outward show, but for the very substance of the thing itself. So St. Ambrose saith, twice together in one place. The word of God changes the kinds (*species*) of the elements. And again, before consecration it is called another kind, (*species*). In these, and other like places Mr. Harding cannot well say that *species* signifieth an *accident*, or outward show. Neither doth this word, *visible*, import any such external form as is here imagined; but only excludeth the body of Christ, which is in heaven, *invisible* to our bodily eyes, and *visible* only to the eyes of our faith. So St. Augustine saith, The Jews had one thing (for their sacrament) and we another; but under a visible *species*, which, notwithstanding, signified the same thing. Likewise he saith, The thing that we see, hath a corporal *species*; the thing which we understand, hath fruit spiritual. And in this sense, Chrysostome saith of the sacrament of baptism,—Christ, in sensible things, hath given us

things intelligible, or spiritual.—By these we see both Mr. Harding's gross error; and also, for what cause the old godly fathers call Christ's body *invisible*: that is, for that, being in heaven, we see it with our faith, with our mind, with the eyes of our understanding. Neither may Mr. Harding, of this word, *invisible*, reason thus, as he seemeth to do,—Christ's body is *invisible*; Ergo, *it lieth hidden under accidents*<sup>1</sup>."

Once more. There is a very stubborn passage in Tertullian, directly in the teeth of the Romish doctrine. In his fourth book against Marcion, that father writes thus:—*Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis suis, corpus suum illis fecit; hoc est corpus meum, dicendo; id est, figura corporis mei*. "These words," says Jewel, "be both very few and very plain." But Harding is at incredible pains to show, that, plain as they seem, the *heretics and sacramentaries* can take no benefit by them. Tertullian, he contends, is here speaking, not dogmatically, but after the manner of a disputant<sup>2</sup>. His words, therefore, are not, in this place, to be taken as a safe and accurate exposition of his thoughts. Now, it is curious enough, that Marcion, (the heretic whom Tertullian is here assailing), maintained, with regard to the body of Christ, those very notions, which the Romanists appear to have since transferred to the sacramental bread. For his doctrine was, that Christ received of the blessed Virgin, not the very nature and substance, but only the outward forms

<sup>1</sup> Reply, on the Challenge, Art xii. div. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀγωνιστικῶς.

and shows of a human body. And the argument, by which Tertullian seeks to demolish this extravagant fancy, is simply this :—that, if the body of Christ had been itself nothing but an “unreal mockery,” it is not credible that he would have delivered to his disciples a material and substantial representative of it, at the Last Supper : whereas, in fact, he did deliver to them the bread, as a symbol of his body ; and, moreover, accompanied the action with words (*this is my body*), which of themselves, plainly indicated that he was not a mere phantom. It would be useless to conduct the reader through the mazes of sophistry by which Harding endeavours to escape this plain view of the matter. The occasion is, chiefly, important for our purpose, as it furnished Jewel with an opportunity of showing, that, this passage of Tertullian is in perfect harmony with the usage of the ancient Christian writers, as expressed in the following maxim of St. Cyprian ; namely, *Significata et significantia iisdem nominibus censentur* ; The things which signify, and the things that are signified, are counted or denoted by the same names. According to this rule, the word body, which, in its primary acceptation, can refer to nothing but the substantial bodily frame of Christ, is, also, perpetually used to signify the material elements by which the body is represented. And we find, accordingly, that all the fathers, and not Tertullian only, in some places, call the sacrament, the *body of Christ*, while in other places, they tell us plainly that what he gave to his disciples was nothing more than *symbol of his body*. For instance ; “St. Hierome saith, Christ *represented the verity of his body*. St. Augustine, saith, Christ

delivered to his disciples the figure (or emblem) of his body. Gelasius calleth the sacrament the similitude or image of Christ's body. St. Basil calleth it *ἀντίτυπον*, (an antitype, or) a *samplar*. Dionysius calleth it a *token*. St. Ambrose useth all these words together, image, figure, token, likeness. Time will not suffer me to reckon up the rest: for, to this purpose, and with such words, they write all, and none otherwise." With regard to the allegation, that the words of Tertullian are merely those of an impetuous disputant,—it is strange enough that the heat of controversy should dictate that, which, upon the face of it, is the more sober and credible exposition of the two! But "truly,"—continues Jewel,—“Tertullian wrote gravely, and soberly, and without any token of impatient heat: and that, not lightly or slenderly, touching the matter with one hot word or two, as it is here supposed; but clearly proving the same, by a substantial and full conclusion. For, to prove that Christ had the very substance and nature of a man's body, he useth this reason; *A figure presupposeth the verity of a thing, of which thing it is a figure*. But Christ, at his Last Supper, gave to his disciples the *figure* of his body. Therefore, Christ had, indeed,—not a fantasy or show,—but a natural and a very body. The force hereof standeth upon this ground,—that a fantasy, or show, can bear no figures." Besides,—as Jewel afterwards observes,—if, in spite of these words, the doctrine of Tertullian really were, that the accidents in the sacrament remain alone, without any subject, he would have been unable to stand before his adversary for a moment. For, the heretic would infallibly, and quite irresist-

ibly, have turned round upon his assailant, and said, You allow the bread in the sacrament to be fantastical; that is, that it seems to be bread, but is not. Why, then, may I not maintain, that, even so, the body of Christ was fantastical; that is, that it merely seemed to be a body, but was not so, in fact? "And thus,"—concludes Jewel,—“Mr. Harding, and Marcion the heretic, build both together upon one foundation<sup>1</sup>.”

The remaining abuses enumerated in the Challenge, are,—the adoration of images,—the services of the Church in an unknown tongue,—the denial of the Scriptures to the people,—and, lastly, that *palladium* of priestcraft, the maxim, that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion. Certain other superstitious usages and doctrines,—such as purgatory, prayers for the dead, invocation of Saints, the multiplication of Sacraments, the use of holy oil, &c., are not included in the Articles of this famous manifesto. We are not, of course, to conclude from this omission, that Jewel regarded such things as legitimate or defensible; for they are exposed and condemned by him in the *Apology* and the *Defence*. But he was well aware that traces of these corruptions might be found in the writings of Christians, and in the practice of the Church, long before the close of the sixth century.

I am quite sensible the extracts given in this chapter can furnish but a very imperfect notion of the gigantic and victorious labours of Bishop Jewel, in the cause of the Catholic verity. But as his con-

<sup>1</sup> Reply, &c. Art. xii. div. 6. 10.



troversial writings are now not very generally read, it was thought advisable to supply the reader with such specimens of his performance, as might be compatible with the narrow limits of this work ; with a hope of inviting the theological reader to a greater familiarity with his writings. The foregoing notice of his controversy with Harding cannot be better closed, than with a portion of the address to his antagonist, subjoined by him to his Reply upon the Answer to the Challenge. It will show the estimation in which he held both the attainments and the integrity of that unhappy man. And, assuredly, his opinion here expressed cannot have been much improved by his subsequent experience of the dealings of the same person, in the course of the subsequent dispute on the Apology.

“ Ye say, ye have fully answered the offer which you call a Challenge ; and have avouched the negatives ; and have fully proved all that lay in question, by Scriptures, by examples of the primitive Church, by old Councils, and by ancient Fathers. Whereby it appeareth ye have some good liking in that ye have done. It had been more modesty to have left the commendation and judgment thereof unto your reader ; who, comparing your proofs with the answers, and laying the one with the other, might be able to judge indifferently between both. For it may well be thought, that, while ye ran alone, ye were ever the foremost ; and that, making your own award, ye would hardly pronounce against yourself. . . . . Ye say, whoso shall attempt to answer your book, shall sweat in vain. His labour shall be, as was the commendation of Boldness, or of Igno-



rance, or of Folly; as a flourish, as a smoke, as a smother, and as I know not what. The force of your eloquence is so invincible, no truth is able to withstand it. Such affiance ye would seem to have in the beauty of your cause.

“ Here I would beseech you, give me leave, once again, to put you in remembrance of the contents and substance of your travails. Think you, in sooth, Mr. Harding, or would you have us to think, that your maimed allegations, your untrue translations, your wrested expositions, your Councils never holden, your canons never made nor seen, your epistles never written, your Amphilochius, your Abdias, your Clemens, your Leontius, your Hippolytus, and other like fabulous pamphlets and forgeries, so lately found out, so long lacked, and never missed; your additions, your diminutions, your alterations, your corruptions of the Doctors, your contrarieties and contradictions against yourself, your surmises, your guesses, your dreams, your visions, your elenches, your fallacies, your silly syllogisms, without mood, or figure, or sequel in reason; and, to conclude, your untruths, so plain, so evident, so manifest, and so many,—can never be answered? Is simple truth become so weak? Or, is error and falsehood grown so strong?

“ O, Mr. Harding, you know right well the weakness of your side! No man seeth it better than yourself. If you will dissemble, and say ye see it not, open your eyes; behold your own book, and ye shall see it. You have forced the old Doctors and ancient Fathers to speak your mind, and not their own: and, therefore, they are now your chil-

dren. They are no Fathers. They are now your scholars. You have set them to school. They are no Doctors. You should have brought some truth for proof of your purpose. The world will not now be led with lies.

“ These be cases, not of wit, but of faith ; not of eloquence, but of truth ; not invented or devised by us, but from the Apostles, and holy Fathers, and founders of the Church, by long succession brought unto us. We are not the devisers thereof, but only the keepers ; not the masters, but the scholars. *Touching the substance of religion, we believe that the ancient, Catholic, learned Fathers believed ; we do that they did ; we say that they said.* And marvel not, in what side soever ye see them, if you see us join unto the same. *It is our great comfort that we see their faith and our faith to agree in one.* And we pity and lament your miserable case, that having, of yourselves, erected a doctrine so contrary to all the ancient Fathers, yet would thus assay to colour the same, and to deceive the people only with the names and titles of ancient Fathers.

“ O, Mr. Harding, fight no longer against God. It is hard to kick against the spur. To maintain a fault known, is a double fault. Untruth cannot be shielded, but by untruth. Error cannot be defended, but by error. And the mouth which speaketh untruth killeth the soul.

“ God direct our hearts, that we be not ashamed of his Gospel ; but that we may see it, and be *seen* to see it. God make us the vessels of his mercy ; that we may have pity upon Zion, and build up again the

broken walls of his Hierusalem, to the honour and joy of his holy name. Amen.

“ Vigilius contra Eutychem, lib. i.

“ Hæc est fides et professio Catholica: quam Apostoli tradiderunt; martyres roboraverunt; et fideles hucusque custodiunt.

“ This is the faith and Catholic profession: which the Apostles delivered; the martyrs confirmed; and the faithful keep, until this day.”

It would be improper to dismiss the controversial writings of Bishop Jewel, without some passing notice of his opinions on the subject of episcopal authority. There are one or two passages in his “ Defence of the Apology,” which, if slightly considered, would seem to indicate, that he considered the episcopal function as an institution demanded by the convenience of the Church, rather than as an ordinance of Christ, or his Apostles: for he cites, with every appearance of approbation, the well-known words of Jerome: “ *Noverint Episcopi se, magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate, Presbyteris esse majores*: Let Bishops understand that they are above priests (or presbyters), rather of custom, than of any truth or right of Christ’s institution.” And, again:—“ *Idem ergo est Presbyter, qui Episcopus: et, antequam Diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego Cephæ, communi Presbyterorum consensu ecclesiæ gubernabantur*:—Therefore, a priest (or presbyter), are both one thing; and

before that, by the inflaming of the Devil, parts were taken in religion, and these words were uttered among the people,—*I hold of Paul, I hold of Apollos, I hold of Peter*,—the Churches were governed by the common advice of Presbyters.” And then Jewel adds the following words of Augustine :—“ *Secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, Episcopatus Presbyterio major est* : The office of a Bishop is above the office of a priest”—(not by authority of the Scriptures, but),—“according to the names of honour, which the custom of the Church hath now obtained <sup>1</sup>.”

It would be entirely beside the purpose of this work, to enter into a disquisition relative to the above passage of Jerome. It has, of course, been the subject of repeated discussion, in the controversies which have arisen between the advocates of Episcopal and of Presbyterian government. It is perfectly notorious that the immediate object of Jerome, when he wrote these sentences, was to repress the insolence of the Roman deacons, who laboured to exalt their own office above that of Presbyters. With a view to the chastisement of their arrogance and folly, the somewhat wrathful and impetuous Father reminds them, that any attempt to raise their order above the Presbyterate, was neither more nor less than an attempt to degrade the order of Bishops below that of deacons ; for that, in effect, as he expresses it in another passage, “*in Episcopo Presbyter continetur*,—the Presbyter is contained in the

<sup>1</sup> Def. Apol. p. ii. c. iii. div. 5.

Bishop.” He proceeds, it is true, to affirm that Bishops were appointed to a dignity and power superior to that of Presbyters, for the purpose of checking the growth of schism in the Church. But then it seems obvious, from the language in which this assertion is made, that it has reference to the Apostolic times; and, consequently that, in the judgment of Jerome himself, Episcopacy was *at least* an Apostolic institution.

With regard to the adoption of the words of Jerome and Augustine, by Bishop Jewel,—it would be very hasty to conclude from this, that he was disposed to impair, or to disparage, the Episcopal order and authority: for in his Reply to Harding on the Challenge<sup>1</sup>, he cites, with equal approbation, the words of St. Cyprian:—“Every Bishop, within his own diocese, is the *priest of God*, and, for his time, is a judge appointed *in the place of Christ* ;” a description too elevated and solemn, to be fitly applied to an office, introduced into the Church solely for the purposes of expediency or convenience. At all events, it must be remembered, that the citations of Jewel respecting the Episcopal order, are purely incidental to his general argument against the supremacy of the Romish See; and, therefore, not to be taken as if they were found in a treatise composed expressly with a view to ascertain the origin and foundation of Episcopacy. It may, indeed, be just *possible* that his notions of the Episcopal succession may have sustained some little damage from his re-

<sup>1</sup> Art. iv. div. 4.

sidence abroad, and from his intercourse with the Helvetic divines. But still, it would be quite unwarrantable to conclude, (as some have concluded), from such loose and scanty evidence as the above, that he regarded the Episcopal merely as one among many unexceptionable forms of Ecclesiastical regimen.

## CHAPTER X.

### *Jewel's Other Writings—A List of his Works.*

OUR notice of the remaining works of Bishop Jewel must be brief. They consist of, the “View of the Seditious Bull,” from which extracts have been given above; a Treatise on the Holy Scriptures; an Exposition of the Epistles to Thessalonians; thirteen Sermons on Miscellaneous Subjects; and, lastly, a short Treatise on the Sacraments. A minute criticism of these writings would be foreign to our purpose. They are all of them monuments of the zeal, the learning, the faithfulness, and the energy, of this illustrious man.

His exposition of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, furnishes him, of course, with abundant opportunities for carrying on, in the Pulpit, the same controversy to which so great a portion of his other writings is devoted. And here we find him openly avowing his conviction, that the marks of Antichrist were clearly to be discerned in the manifold and impious usurpations of the *Bishop* of Rome. Now, if this doctrine be admitted, one important question must arise; namely, how the Church of Rome, (which allowed these pretensions,—and, not only allowed



them, but came, at length, actually to glory in that which was her shame)—can escape the full condemnation which is due to the head of that church? If the Bishop of Rome be *Antichrist*, how can the Church, which honours him, be otherwise than *Antichristian*? In other words, how can it be affirmed that she has retained the character of a Christian Church at all? She contends, that a close union with the chair of St. Peter is absolutely needful to salvation. If then—(it may be said)—the chair of St. Peter be filled by Antichrist, her own union with Christ is at an end, and she herself is in a condition of *apostasy* from Christ; and consequently ceases to form a portion of his Catholic Church. These considerations have appeared so weighty to some Protestants, that they have entertained grave doubts respecting the soundness of that interpretation, which contemplates, in Papal Rome, a completion of the prophecies relating to the appearance of Antichrist.

Without entering, however, into the depths of this question, we may remark, that, although the defection of the Latin Church from the purity of the primitive faith, in this, and in other particulars, has frequently been stigmatized with the name of the *great apostasy*,—it hardly follows that she has thereby utterly forfeited the character and privileges of a Christian Church. The *apostasy*, indeed, was most awful and perilous; but it was not a total apostasy. It was, doubtless, a tremendous error to acknowledge as the vicar of Christ, a power which bore inscribed upon its front almost every imaginable sign of opposition to the spirit of Christ. But, of the

*Church* of Rome it may in charity be said, that she did this ignorantly. She suffered herself to be gradually seduced, or driven, into allegiance to an usurper: but, in so doing, she *intended* no violation of allegiance to the rightful Sovereign himself. She almost forgot Christ, it is true, in her abject submission to him, who called himself Christ's vicegerent; but she never openly or rebelliously abandoned Christ. On the contrary, she imagined (though most erroneously), that Christ could be acceptably honoured only in the person of his ordained and consecrated representative. And then,—so far was she from casting away from her the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith,—that, in spite of all her errors, under God's Providence, she is the *instrument* to which we chiefly stand indebted for the preservation of that faith. Had it not been for her, the whole moral and spiritual life of western Christendom at least, might have been utterly lost in the deluge of impiety and ignorance which overspread Europe for centuries together. It may, therefore, well be true, that the predicted *Antichrist* was realized and embodied in the *Papal* usurpation; and yet it may also be true, that the Latin Church, by her connection with the Papacy, lost not all vital communion with her divine and invisible Head.

Besides, it must always be kept in mind, that it was only by shameless fraud, or merciless persecution, that the Latin Church was brought to swallow this, and other manifold impurities, together with the sincere milk of God's holy word. These spurious matters, it is true, may have weakened, and, in many instances, almost neutralized, the wholesome quality

of the original and pure ingredient, and have given to it some pernicious properties wholly foreign to its nature. But still, the genuine element was in the chalice ; and as for the impurities, they can, with no sort of justice, be regarded as preparations compounded by the Catholic Church herself, or even by the western division of it. They were, successively, dropped in, by individual members of the Romish communion. But when was the work of these crafty innovators sanctioned by even the appearance of full synodical authority, till the meeting of the Council of Trent ? And what better title did the Council of Trent deserve, than that which was given it by Jewel,—the *Conspiracy* of Trent ? At all events, the Council of Trent was no legitimate representative of the Catholic, or even of the Latin Church ; for many Christian communities, both in the east and west, were not, in any manner, parties to its decrees. If, therefore, we are to speak with the accuracy which the subject demands, the grand *Antichristian* doctrine of the Papal omnipotence, is by no means to be reckoned as among the principles of faith, constantly and undoubtedly acknowledged by the Latin Church herself. It rather should be numbered among sundry other errors, rashly or fraudulently brought in, and factiously defended : but incessantly protested against by many of the most learned and venerable members of her own communion. Why, therefore, should it be supposed to have wrought “ a damned defeat ” upon her very life ?

But, to return to Bishop Jewel’s Exposition : “ What,” he asks, “ shall he (Antichrist) do that he may be known ? This shall be the mark whereby

you may know him: he shall set himself against God and against Christ; for he is an enemy to the cross of Christ. Why then (say you), are not the Jews, and Mahomet, and the Turk, either all, or the most wicked of them, so called,—seeing they utterly refuse all Christian religion? Because none of these sit in the Temple of God, which is the place where Antichrist shall advance himself: and because Antichrist shall not, in open show, set himself against Christ, as doth Mahomet and the Turks; but subtilly and craftily, as doth an evil and ungracious servant. He will not, openly, speak his blasphemies, or spit at the Gospel of God, or defy the name of Christ. But he will call himself the servant of God; perhaps, the vicar of Christ; and, perhaps, the servant of God's servants; or, perhaps, the head and chief member of the Church. He shall say he is led with the zeal of God's house; and shall do nothing less. He shall say that he seeketh the glory of God, when all that he doth is for the enriching, and ambitious enlarging, of his own worldly pomp and vanity" . . . . . "I will tell you after what sort he shall sit in the Temple of God, and how the world shall receive him and reverence him as God. He shall take to himself that supreme authority and prerogative, which appertaineth only to God, by nature. Although he be but a man, yet, in office, he will be accounted as God. He shall compare his laws with the laws of God. He shall say his word is as the word of God. Whatsoever he saith, he shall say is as the voice of the Spirit of God; of the same authority that is the Gospel of Christ. No man may break it. No man may touch the credit

thereof. If any man withstand it he must think he doth sacrilege, committeth blasphemy, and sinneth against the Holy Ghost." He afterwards sums up the whole matter as follows :

" Thus have I, by occasion of the Apostle's words, spoken of the coming of the kingdom of Antichrist. I have said what he should be, what things he shall do, of what estate he shall be, what countenance he shall carry, in what place he shall sit, at what time shall be his coming, by what means he shall prevail, who they be that shall believe in him, what power shall beat him down, what end he shall have, what triumph shall follow upon his fall . . . . . I have told you he shall be confounded and beaten down by the force and power of God's mighty word. His word is omnipotent. It shall disclose the works of darkness. It shall hew down Idolatry, Superstition, and the whole kingdom of Antichrist, *as our eyes do see at this day*. Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, his mighty hand hath wrought these things. He hath triumphed in the name of his Christ. He will bless the things he hath begun. He will overthrow the whole power of Antichrist, by his presence, and by the glory of his coming. Then shall it appear who is the Successor of St. Peter, who is the Vicar of Christ, and who is Antichrist<sup>1</sup>."

But, perhaps, the most remarkable portion of this exposition, is one which relates to a subject altogether unconnected with the Romish controversy,—namely, to the sin of usury ; that is, to the practice of "lending money, or corn, or oil, or wine, or any

<sup>1</sup> Jewel, on 2 Thessal. c. ii.

other thing, wherein, upon covenant and bargain, we receive again the whole principal which we delivered, and somewhat more, for the use and occupying of the same." This practice, however moderate the stipulated amount of interest might be, is stigmatised by Jewel as a sin of the most malignant type. It would be difficult to find any part of his writings in which he is so eloquent, so impassioned, and (as most men will think at this day) so utterly mistaken.

It seems that this was an abomination which had long occupied much of the Bishop's thoughts. There was found among his papers in his study, after his death, a treatise on the subject, in the form of a dialogue ; in which the lawfulness of receiving interest for the use of money, is maintained by one party (designated by the letters A. B.), against Jewel himself, who vehemently contends that the custom is altogether ungodly and detestable<sup>1</sup>. His sentiments are further manifested by a letter which he addressed to Dr. Wylson, Master of St. Catherine's, in 1569, in commendation of a work then recently published by the doctor, entitled " A Discourse on Usury ; by way of Dialogue and Oration, for the better variety and delight of all who shall read this Treatise." The Letter of Jewel is as follows :

" I have perused your learned and godly travail touching the matter of usury, Mr. Doctor Wylson, and have no doubt, if it may please you to make it common, very much good may grow out of it. Such variety of matter,—such weight of reasons,—such examples of antiquity,—such authority of Doctors,

<sup>1</sup> This paper is printed at length by Humphrey, p. 217—232.

both Greeks and Latins,—such allegation of laws, not only civil and canon, but also provincial and temporal,—such variety of cases, so learnedly and so clearly answered,—such learning and eloquence,—and so evident witnesses of God's holy will,—can never possibly pass in vain. I will not flatter you. I cannot. It becometh me not. I assure you I like all notably well; *siquid mei est judicii*, and if my liking be worth the liking.

“ But, of all other things, this liketh me best. Of the three parties, you make each one speak naturally, like himself, as if you had been in each of them, or they in you. What it shall work in others I cannot tell. For mine own part, if I were an usurer, never so greedily bent on spoil and ravine, *ut sunt fœneratores*, yet would I think myself most unhappy if such persuasions could not move me. But what man would not be afraid to live desperately in that state of life, that he seeth manifestly condemned by heathens, by the old Fathers, by the ancient Councils, by Emperors, by Bishops, by Decrees, by Canons, by all sects of all Religions, by the Gospel of Christ, by the mouth of God? *Ago breviter, ut vides. Non enim id mihi sumo, ut damnem largè tam horrendum peccatum. Id tibi relinquo. Ut vivat liber, usura pereat.* From Salisbury this 20th of August, 1569<sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> The Dialogue here commended by Jewel, was supposed to be between a rich merchant, a zealous preacher, a common lawyer, and a civilian. The author, Doctor Wylson, was an eloquent, and learned man; and not altogether unfacetious, if we may judge from the following story which he has given in



His Exposition of the Thessalonians, provides the Bishop with another occasion of pouring out the phials of his indignation on the vice in question. The following passages are extracted from his Commentary on the sixth verse of the fourth chapter of the first Epistle,—*that no man oppress or defraud his brother in any matter ; for the Lord is the avenger of all such things : as we have told you aforetime, and testified.* And, according to Jewel, all the guilt of *oppression* and of *fraud*, is concentrated in the crime

his book :—" A certain incorrigible and impenitent usurer departed this life. His kinsman, who succeeded to his wealth, desired to have him buried in the Parish Church, before the high altar. The parson, however, positively refused to bury him at all; either before the altar, or in the church, or even in the churchyard. Intreaties and bribes were wholly in vain. And, after much importunity, the only concession that could be extorted from the minister was this,—that his Reverence consented to lend the survivors an ass of his (on which he was accustomed to convey his books from the parsonage to the church), with permission to place upon the back of the quadruped a coffin containing the body of the extortioner ; and, with the understanding, that wheresoever the ass should stop, there should the corpse be buried. The brute, however, proved quite as untractable as his master. Instead of following his daily route to the church (as the parties had hoped), he immediately began to fling and kick under his unusual burden, ' as though wildfire were in his tail ;' and never ceased his career, until he came to a gallows at the town's end. On this spot, immediately under the gallows, he laid himself down ; and never left off rolling and tumbling himself, till he had disburdened himself of his unhallowed load. A fit altar," says Dr. Wylson, " for usurers to be sacrificed upon, while alive ; or buried under when they are dead : and a most worthy tabernacle, or shrine, miraculously assigned for such lewd saints to be shrowded in, either dead or alive."—*Strype's Ann.* vol. ii. pt. i. c. 24.

of usury; and all the wrath of Heaven is levelled against it. "Whence springeth usury?" he exclaims—"Even thence whence theft, murder, adultery, the plagues and destruction of the people. All these are the works of the devil, and the works of the flesh. Christ telleth the Pharisees—*ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do.* Even so may it truly be said unto the usurer: thou art of thy father the devil, and the lust of thy father thou wilt do. The devil entered into the heart of Judas, and put in him this greediness, for which he was content to sell his Master. Judas's heart was the shop; the devil was the foreman to work in it. St. Paul saith, *the desire of money is the root of all evil*; and St. John saith, *whosoever committeth sin is of the devil.* Thus we see that the devil is the planter, and the father of usury."

"Let us see, further, what are the fruits which come of usury. For perhaps, it doth some good, and you may think that many are the better for it. These, therefore, are the fruits. It dissolveth the knot and fellowship of mankind. It hardeneth man's heart. It maketh men unnatural, and bereaveth them of charity, and love to their dearest friends. It breedeth misery, and provoketh the wrath of God from heaven. It consumeth rich men. It eateth up the poor. It maketh bankrupts, and undoeth many households. The poor occupiers are driven to flee; their wives are left alone; their children are helpless, and driven to beg their bread, through the unmerciful dealings of the covetous usurer.

“ But the usurer will say:—The poor man came to me ; I was in no haste to seek him. He moaned his case to me ; I took pity on him, and lent him money. Since then, he and all his have been the better. Here you shall see the great kindness and pitiful heart of this rich usurer. He draweth his purse, giveth out his goods, and helpeth the poor, and the poor is much eased by him. But, alas ! what help is this ? Even such as he findeth that, in the midst of his ague-fit drinketh a great draught of cold water. No doubt he is refreshed, and cooled, and, for that present time, much better. But, after a while, when his heaves renew, the heat increaseth, his heart panteth, his pulse beateth, his mouth is dry, his tongue burneth ; he is more terribly tormented than ever before. So fareth it with him that borroweth money upon usury. He looketh in his hand, and seeth somewhat which is not his own. Yet is he refreshed therewith, and much eased. The year passeth, the day of payment draweth on, the creditor calleth for money. Then the heats, and fits, and agonies begin to grow. Then must pot and pan trudge to redeem his body. Then he feeleth more cruel torments than ever before.

“ Thus doth the gentle usurer help to relieve the poor in time of his necessity ; as if a man would cure a sore finger by cutting off the arm ; or as if he would cure the blemish of the eyesight by pulling out the eyes ; or as if he would quench thirst by giving poison to drink ; or, as if, to save one from drowning in a tempest, he would cast him over the boat into the sea.

“ The scorpion embraceth a man sweetly with his legs ; but in the meantime striketh him deadly with his tail. His face looketh amiable ; his tail poisoneth. So an usurer looketh fair, and giveth good words ; but, in the end, he undoeth.

“ Who is stung by an adder, he perceiveth no hurt ; but feeleth a gentle beating of his veins, with some delight, whereat he rejoiceth. After this, he falleth into a slumber ; then the poison worketh, overcometh him, and killeth him. Even so, he that borroweth upon usury findeth himself wonderfully amended, and rejoiceth. But he is stung, and hath a deadly stroke. The poison will grow over him. He shall die in a slumber, and be undone before he is aware. So necessary is an usurer to relieve the poor and needy, as rust is to help iron, and as the moth to help a garment. It eateth him through, from one side to the other.

“ But what if one rich man lend money to another ? What if a merchant take money to usury of a merchant, and both be the better, both be gainers ? What if a thief or pirate take usury of a pirate or a thief, and both be partakers of the gain, or be both of them holpen ? Let no man mislike the comparison. For, as I said before, a pirate or a thief is not so *noiful* (mischievous) as an usurer. Here, say you, he that lendeth is a gainer, and he that borroweth is a gainer. It doth good to both. If both be gainers, who is the loser ? For usury never passeth, without working loss. Take this as a rule : there is never usury without loss.”

All this vehement declamation is followed by a long

course of argument, which it would be wholly useless to detail. It would only raise a smile on the serene countenance of Political Economy ! The whole concludes with the following awful appeal, and denunciation :—

“ Thus much I thought expedient to speak of the loathsome and foul trade of usury. I know not what fruit will grow thereby, and what it will work in your hearts. If it please God, it may do that good I wish. I have done my duty. I call God for a record unto my soul, I have not deceived you. I have spoken unto you the truth. *If I have been deceived in this matter, O God, thou hast deceived me.* Thy word is plain,—*Thou shalt take no usury.* Thou sayest,—he that taketh increase shall not live. What am I, that I should hide the words of my God, or keep them back from the hearing of his people ? The learned old Fathers have taught us, that it is no more lawful to take usury of our brother, than it is to kill our brother. They that be of God, hear this, and consider it, that they displease him not. But the wicked, that are no whit moved, and care not what God saith, but cast his word behind them,—which have eyes and see not, and ears and hear not,—because they are filthy, they shall be filthy still. Their greedy desire shall increase to their confusion ; and, as their money increaseth, so shall they increase the heaps of their sins. Pardon me, if I have been long or vehement. Of those that are usurers, I ask no pardon.”

He then adds,—“ I hear that there are certain in this city, which wallow wretchedly in this filthiness,

without repentance. I give them warning, in the hearing of you all, and in the presence of God, that they forsake their cruel and detestable sin. *If otherwise they continue therein, I will open their shame, and denounce excommunication against them, and publish their names in this place, before you all; that you may know them, and abhor them, as the plagues and monsters of the world: that if they be past all fear of God, they may repent and amend for worldly shame.*"

It would require a treatise to examine and to answer these formidable positions of Bishop Jewel: and no labour, probably, could be more entirely superfluous. If, indeed, it be once admitted, that the practice of taking any payment whatever, under any circumstances, for the use of money, has been strictly prohibited, not merely to the Israelites, but to every other nation under heaven, then,—all argument upon the question must be nugatory. In that case, we should, of course, be under a sacred obligation to abstain from every thing in the shape of interest, as from the touch of an accursed thing. It might, indeed, be difficult for us to perceive why personal property should, in this respect, be placed, for ever, under an interdict, from which landed or real property is exempt. But, nevertheless, if it were so written in the Scriptures of God, it would be our duty, not to reason, but simply to obey. It seems, however, that since the days of Jewel, the whole world, as it were with one consent, have given a different interpretation from his, to the words both of the Old Testament and the New, relative to the lending either of money, or of other things. And

if that interpretation should be wrong, it is positively terrific to reflect upon the length, and breadth, and depth, of error and crime, in which the whole structure of modern society has its foundation,—more especially in this land! But whether it be right or wrong,—the denunciations of this faithful and venerable man will still speak, in all their solemnity and power, to those who convert the rights of property into instruments of oppression; or who harden their faces and their hearts against the miseries of the indigent. Nothing that Jewel has said in condemnation of usury, can be too severe for those who carry an usurious and rapacious *spirit* into all the transactions of life. Even if the receipt of interest be *not* forbidden, the immoderate and merciless exaction of it unquestionably *is* forbidden. And though the laws of man may be unable to reach them who forget this, the law of God will assuredly find them out; and the bitterest things that are written therein will be their portion.

We must conclude our extracts from the writings of Bishop Jewel by a passage from his treatise on the sacraments; not as containing any thing remarkable for novelty of statement, but as exhibiting the sentiments of one of the most illustrious of our Reformers, relative to the nature and effect of the Sacrament of Baptism. It may not be altogether without its use, in recalling our attention to the views of those holy men, to whose authority the members of the Church of England are in the constant habit of appealing.

“I will now speak briefly of the Sacraments, in several, and leave all idle and vain questions, and only lay open so much, as is needful and profitable



for you to know. *Baptism, therefore, is our regeneration, or new birth*, whereby we are born anew in Christ, and are made sons of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. It is the sacrament of remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ. We are all born the children of wrath, and have our part in the offence of Adam . . .

. . . For this cause are infants baptized, because they are born in sin, and cannot become spiritual, but by this new birth of the water and the Spirit. They are the heirs of the promise. The covenant of God's favour is made unto them. God said unto Abraham, *I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.* Therefore, saith the apostle,—*If the root be holy, so are the branches.* And, again,—*the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife; and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean: but now, they are holy.*" When the disciples rebuked those that brought little children to Christ, that he might touch them, he said, *Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.* And, again,—*their angels always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.*

"The kingdom of heaven is of such, saith Christ; and, not only of those, but of other like infants which shall be in all times.

"As God took the seed of Abraham to be partakers of the covenant which he gave to Abraham, so he appointed that every man child of eight days should be circumcised. May we think that the

promise of God hath an end, so that it reacheth not unto our children? Or might the children of the Jews receive the sign of the covenant, and may not the children of Christians? Whatsoever was promised to Abraham, the same is also performed unto us. We enjoy the same blessings and free privileges of God's favour. St. Paul to the Galatians saith, *Know ye, that they which are of faith, are the children of Abraham.* Again,—*If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs by promise . . . . .* The apostles baptized, not only such as professed their belief, but whole households . . . . Infants are a part of the Church of God. They are the sheep of Christ, and belong to his flock. Why should they not bear the mark of Christ? They have the promise of salvation. Why should they not receive the seal whereby it is confirmed unto them? They are of the number of the faithful. Augustine saith,—‘Where place you young children that are yet unbaptized! Verily in the number of them that believe.’ Why, then, should they not partake of the Sacrament, together with the faithful?”

“Baptism,”—he afterwards adds—“is the covenant, and promise of God, which clotheth us with immortality; assureth our resurrection; *by which we receive regeneration*, forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation. His word declareth his love towards us; and that word is sealed, and made good by baptism. Our faith, which are baptized, and our continuance in the profession which we have made, establisheth in us this grace which we have received.”

“The water wherein we are baptized doth not cleanse the soul. But *the blood of Jesus Christ, his*

*Son, doth cleanse us from all sin.* Not the water, but the blood of Christ, reconcileth us unto God, strengtheneth our conscience, and worketh our redemption. Hereof saith Cyprian,—‘The remission of sins, whether it be given by baptism, or by any other Sacraments, *doth properly appertain unto the Holy Ghost.* The solemnity of the words, and the invocation of God’s holy name, and the outward signs appointed to the ministry of the priest, by the institution of the apostles, work the visible outward Sacrament. But, touching the substance of it, it is *the Holy Ghost that worketh it.*’—St. Ambrose saith—‘Thou hast seen the water; thou hast seen the priest; thou hast seen those things which thou mightest see with the eyes of thy body, and with such sight as man hath. But those things which do the deed of salvation, which no eye can see, thou hast not seen.’”

“Such a change is made in the Sacrament of baptism. Through the power of God’s word the water is turned into blood. They that be washed in it, receive remission of sins. Their robes are made clean in the blood of the Lamb. The water itself is nothing. But, by the working of God’s Spirit, the death and merits of our Lord and Saviour Christ are, thereby, assured unto us.”

“Some make doubt of those infants, the children of the faithful, which depart before baptism,—whether they be saved or not. What! shall we say that they are damned? It is a hard matter, and too curious for man to enter into the judgments of God. His mercy is infinite, and his purpose secret. He sheweth mercy unto those, upon whom he will have

mercy. Who can appoint him, or set Him an order what He shall do? It is not good, nor standeth with Christian reverence, to be contentious and busy in searching out, or reasoning of matters, which the wisdom of God hath hidden from our knowledge.— Yet, if any would fain be resolved, he may thus safely reason. It is true that children are born in sin; and, that by the sin of one man, death entered into the world; and that the reward of sin is death. But who knoweth if God hath forgiven them their sin? Who is His counsellor, who knoweth His meaning? Our children are the children of God. He is our God, and the God of our seed. They be under the covenant with us. The soberest way is to speak least; and to leave them to the judgment and mercy of God.”

“Howbeit if any should despise, and of wilfulness refuse this holy ordinance, so that they would, in no case, be baptized, or suffer their children to be baptized; that were damnable. Otherwise, the grace of God is not so tied to the ministration of the Sacrament, that, if any be prevented by death, so that he cannot be received to the fellowship thereof, he should therefore be thought to be damned.”

“In baptism, the nature and substance of water doth remain still. And yet it is not *bare* water. It is changed, and made the Sacrament of our *regeneration*. It is water consecrated and made holy by the blood of Christ. They which are washed therein, are not washed with water, but with the blood of the unspotted Lamb. One thing is seen; and another is understood. We see the water; but we understand the blood of Christ. Even so (in the Lord’s supper),

we see the bread and wine ; but with the eyes of our understanding, we look beyond these creatures. We reach our spiritual senses into heaven, and behold the ransom and price of our salvation."

The treatise is closed with an exhortation which a pious father is supposed to utter on his death-bed. It is always interesting and important to observe the Christian faith, in its simple, but heart-searching operation upon the soul of the believer,—refined from the bitter elements of controversy, and working with all its celestial purity and energy. The following is the exhibition of its power in the mind of a Christian man like Jewel. For, in the person of the dying father, Jewel himself must be considered as speaking. The closing portion of the address, indeed, may be regarded as his own last words : for they were, nearly, the very words which he himself uttered in his last hour :

" My son, hearken unto me. These be the last words which I shall speak unto thee. Thou seest, in me, the weakness and decay of the flesh. Thou shalt be, as I am now. One passeth before another. The world, and the beauty thereof, fade and come to an end. Trust not the world. It will deceive thee. Walk advisedly. Know, thou shalt give an account of thy doings. For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ : that every man may receive the things which are done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil."

" Deceive no man by wrongful dealing. Increase not thy goods, by extortion, nor by usury. He that giveth his money unto usury, shall not enter into the Tabernacle of the Lord. He that taketh usury of

his neighbour, killeth him without a sword. The Lord will avenge it. He will not bless ill-gotten goods. They cannot prosper. They will never continue, nor remain unto the third heir."

"My son, in all thy doings, fear the Lord. If thou fear the Lord, thou shalt prosper, and, in the day of thine end, thou shalt be blessed. Meddle not much with other men's business, lest thou be entangled with controversies. Abhor the slanderer, and double-tongued. Let my doings, which am thy father, be ever before thine eyes. Those few goods which I have, were truly gotten. I have not gathered them of the tears, and heaviness, and undoing or hindering, of any. Help thy neighbour according to thy power, and turn not thy face from the poor and needy. Be merciful after thy power. If thou hast much give plenteously. If thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little. Be not slow to visit the sick. Whatever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss."

"As for me, I have passed the vanities and miseries of this world. The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord. He is the Lord my God; let him do with me as seemeth good unto him. I know that this shall hasten my salvation; and that Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death. I have not so lived that I am ashamed to live. Neither am I afraid to die; for we have a gracious Lord. I know that if my earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, I have a building given of God, not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens. They that die in the Lord are blessed. They shall



rest from their labours. Christ is, unto me, both in life and death, advantage."

"In such sort"—the Bishop continues—"do the godly prepare themselves to their journey out of this life. Then the minister prayeth that he may be constant in his faith. He strengtheneth him, and confirmeth him in it. He exhorteth the sick to commend himself unto God. He prayeth unto God, that He will give his angels charge over him, that he fall not into temptation. He teacheth him to say,—O Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me never be confounded. Come, Lord Jesus, come, and take me unto thee. Lord, let thy servant depart in peace. Thy kingdom come. I am thy Son. Thine am I; O save me. Into thine hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.—In this state he dieth; and hath his eyes always fastened upon God: and so seeth how, indeed, the dead are blessed, which die in the Lord."

"Thus doth the Church of God instruct all men to live and to die, and to be in readiness. Thus are the sick among us anointed with the inward and invisible oil of the mercy of God. Thus are they put in mind to have the oil of faith and of a good conscience, and that their lamps may be ever burning, that so they may enter with the bridegroom; that the dayspring from on high may visit their hearts; and that it may be said unto them,—*Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit ye the kingdom prepared for you, from the foundation of the world.*"

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The following is a List of the writings which have made the name of Bishop Jewel illustrious throughout Europe :—

1. *Exhortatio ad Oxonienses*; the substance of which is printed in Humphrey's Life of Jewel, p. 35. Ed. 1573. 4to.

2 *Exhortatio in Collegio Corp. Christi, sive Concio in Fundatoris Foxi Commemorationem*; Humphrey, p. 45, &c.

3. *Concio in Templo Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*; Oxon. anno 1550, in 1 Pet. iv. 2. Humphr. p. 49. The same in English. Lond. 1586. 8vo.

4. *Oratio in Aulâ Coll. C. C.*; being Jewel's Farewell Address, on his Expulsion from the College. Humphr. p. 74, &c.

5. *Epistola ad Scipionem, patritium Venetum, de causis cur Episcopi Angliæ ad Concilium Tridentinum non convenirent.* 1559. Reprinted in the Appendix to Brent's Translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent. Lond. 1629. The substance of this Letter is in Fuller's Church History, xvi. 70.

6. Letters between Jewel and Dr. Henry Cole, upon occasion of a Sermon, &c. Lond. 1560. 8vo.

7. Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, on 1 Cor. xi. 23. Anno. 1560 : (or, according to Strype, 26 Nov. 1559. See Strype's Grindal, p. 27). Lond. 1560. 8vo. This was the celebrated Sermon of the *Challenge*.

8. *APOLOGIA ECCLESIE ANGLICANÆ*; Lond. 1562. 8vo. Translated into various European languages:—into English, by Lady Anne Bacon, 1564: into

Welsh by M. Kyffin, Oxon. 1571. 8vo. A Greek translation was published by John Smith of Magd. Coll. Oxon. 1614. 1639. 12mo.

9. A Reply to Mr. Harding's Answer to the Challenge of Bishop Jewel; in twenty-seven Articles, 1565.—Translated into Latin by William Whitaker. Lond. 1578.

10. A Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, against Harding. 1567. Again in 1570, with a Preface, in answer to Harding's "Detection of Sundry Foul Errors, &c."—Translated into Latin by Thomas Bradock of Cambridge, 1600.

11. A View of a Seditious Bull sent into England by Pius V., Bishop of Rome; delivered in certain Sermons in the Cathedral Church of Sarum. 1570.

12. A Treatise of the Holy Scriptures, gathered out of his Sermons at Salisbury. Anno. 1570. Lond. 1582. 8vo.

13. Exposition of the Two Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. Lond. 1594. 8vo.

14. Certain Sermons, Preached at St. Paul's Cross and Elsewhere. 1603. 8vo.

15. A Treatise on the Sacraments, gathered out of his Sermons. Lond. 1583. 1603. 8vo.

16. An Epistle, in praise of the Book of Thomas Wylson, on Usury; prefixed to the same book.

17. A Tract, *De Usurá*. Printed in Humphrey, pp. 217, &c.

18. A Letter, that it is not lawful for a man to marry two sisters successively. Printed in Strype's Parker. App. No. xix.

19. *Epistola Simlero*; edited by Colomesius. Lond. 1694.

20. Against Harding, on the Private Mass. Lond. 1578. 4to.

21. Against Mr. Rastal's Return of Untruths. An Answer to certain frivolous Objections against the government of the Church of England. A single sheet. Lond. 1641.

22. Sermon on Ps. lxi.

23. Various Letters; several of which have been printed by Strype, in different parts of his compilations; but the greater number, in the Collection of Records, in the third volume of Burnet's History of the Reformation.

Of these writings, those in the above list, from the number 6 to 15 *inclusive*, were printed in one folio volume, in 1609; with a very imperfect Life of the Bishop, by Dan. Featly. They were again published, in folio, by John Overal, Lond. 1611.

In addition to the printed works, the following are enumerated in Tanner's Bibliotheca, as MSS. left by Jewel:—

1. Epistolæ quinque Latinæ ad J. Parkhurst, Episc. Norvic. MSS. Norvic.

2. A Paraphrastical Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the whole year.

3. A Continue Exposition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.

4. Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.

5. Commentary on the Epistle to St. Peter.

6. Carmen in obitum Regis Edw. VI. MS. Bale.

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Bishop Tanner has placed, among the works of Jewel, a Tract with the following title: "A brief and

lamentable consideration of the apparel now used by the Clergy; set out for the instruction of the weak, by a faithful servant of God." This was a short publication, put forth in the year 1566, in answer to the bitter complaints and clamours of the Puritans, relative to the clerical habits, and other alleged abuses. There is no evidence that Jewel was the author of it; though Strype conjectures, from its style, that it must have been written either by him, or by Bishop Cox. See Strype's Parker, b. iii. c. xi.; also Append. No. 49, where this Tract is printed.

THE END.

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